

## Black leader strolls to freedom while police open fire on looters

# Fight goes on, says Mandela

**'No option but to continue the armed struggle'**

From Gavin Bell, Cape Town

Nelson Mandela emerged from more than a quarter of a century in jail last night to tell tens of thousands of supporters that the armed struggle against apartheid must continue.

He told a rally in Cape Town that the conditions that had led to the initiation of that approach thirty years ago still prevailed today, and there could be no negotiation with the De Klerk Government until the state of emergency was ended and all political prisoners were freed.

"Our resorting to the armed struggle in 1960 was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid," he told the gathering estimated at 50,000. "We have no option but to continue."

He called on his supporters to intensify and redouble their campaign and urged overseas states to continue sanctions against the Nationalist regime. He was confident of success, saying most South Africans, black and white, recognized that apartheid had no future.

In spite of his call for the armed campaign to continue, Mr Mandela's first words to the cheering crowd contained a message of peace. "I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all," he said. "I stand here before you not as a prophet, but as a humble servant of you the people."

He thanked anti-apartheid groups and the international community for campaigning persistently over the years for his freedom; and said: "Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. Our march to freedom is irreversible. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts."

He concluded by rehearsing his statement at his trial in 1964, when he declared: "I have fought against white domination. I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal I hope to live for and achieve."

but if need be, an ideal for which I am prepared to die." Mr Mandela had been an angry young revolutionary when he first spoke those words before being bundled into prison. Yesterday, he walked free as a distinguished elder statesman, but hopes that he would be welcomed in a dignified manner were soon dashed when the rally degenerated into bloodshed, with drunken youths lobbing bottles from rooftops and police firing birdshot into the crowd.

One person was reported to have been shot dead, and three to have died from heart attacks as the assembly overflowed a parade ground in front of the City Hall. Doctors treated more than 100 people for gunshot wounds.

Panic rippled through the crowd when police fired at youths looting goods from shop windows. They then came under a hail of stones and bottles, and fired again.

In the pandemonium, Mr Mandela's motorcade apparently took a wrong turning and missed the rear entrance to the City Hall which had been cordoned off. His car was immediately engulfed by a seething, screaming mass of humanity which trapped the car for a quarter of an hour.

Mr Mandela had first appeared at the gates of Victor Verster prison at Paarl, 40 miles from Cape Town, with his wife, Winnie, at 4.14 pm local time — more than an hour behind schedule.

Holding his wife's hand and repeatedly punching the air in a victory salute, he tried to walk a few yards but was halted by the crush of thousands of ecstatic supporters.

With a smile and a wave, Mr Mandela — dressed in light brown suit and tie — climbed into the silver car and drove off escorted by four police motorcycle riders.



Tasting the air of freedom: A jubilant Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie salute their supporters outside the Victor Verster prison moments after his release.

### ON OTHER PAGES

Sanctions call.....	2
Death threats.....	2
Thatcher pressure.....	3
Turbulent wife.....	3
Mandela profile.....	11
Fresh trials.....	12
Long haul back.....	12
Leading article.....	13
Investment check.....	21

Troops in armoured vehicles were stationed at around the prison, and at strategic buildings in Cape Town, but not used.

In Johannesburg, however, there were ugly confrontations. While most people were well-behaved, a handful of blacks taunted whites yelling "Freedom is coming. Whites get out." A few furious whites lashed out, hurling bottles and insults. Some black youths pretended to fire imaginary guns at police vans filled; much larger groups of blacks chanted "Peace, peace, peace."

restraint before addressing the multitude.

As he spoke, state television broadcast a profile of the ANC leader, including footage from a 1961 interview he gave to the BBC. It was the first time Mr Mandela had been shown speaking on television, and the station later broadcast taped excerpts from his Cape Town speech.

Mr Mandela's release was welcomed throughout the world. Mother Teresa of Calcutta said: "God has been so good. Thank God for this"; and Mr Lech Walesa the Solidarity leader sent a message of congratulation from Warsaw.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher described the decision to release Mr Mandela as "bold and courageous" and called for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa, but she cancelled a Downing Street press conference after Mr Mandela's speech calling for international isolation to continue.

Iran urged Mr Mandela to shun any invitation to visit Britain, saying it was a prime backer of white minority rule and responsible for decades of crimes by whites in Africa.

## Thatcher hails de Klerk's 'courageous move'

By Richard Ford  
Political Correspondent



Mrs Thatcher yesterday: "The die is now cast."

The Prime Minister hailed the release of Mr Nelson Mandela as a "bold and courageous" move which would open the way for peaceful negotiations on South Africa's future.

But last night, only minutes after Mr Mandela had opposed the lifting of sanctions and vowed that the armed struggle should continue, Mrs Thatcher cancelled a press facility for journalists and photographers in Downing Street.

Reporters and cameramen had been told throughout the day to arrive at Downing Street where a microphone and speakers had been set up to enable the Prime Minister to give her reaction to the release of the ANC leader. But 17 minutes after Mrs Thatcher was due to appear in Downing Street, her press officer, Mr Bernard Ingham, announced:

"She is not coming down, she does think she has anything further to say."

At Westminster last night the hurried cancellation of the meeting was seen as an attempt to avoid political embarrassment for the Prime Minister who had earlier urged the lifting of sanctions.

As she left church, near Chequers, earlier yesterday, Mrs Thatcher said it was now time to use encouragement and not the stick in South Africa. She said: "The sanctions are very small indeed. They are gesture sanctions. When people are doing the right thing, as boldly and courageously as President de Klerk, it seems quite absurd to still use sticks to beat them with, however small those sticks may be."

Mrs Thatcher added: "The die is now cast. The way is open for peaceful negotiations. What is the use in trying to hit out? Why not help the process?"

Throughout the day Opposition leaders insisted that sanctions should continue with Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, saying it was essential that the apartheid government earned the respect of the world community.

"To relinquish any sanctions now, would simply tell President de Klerk that in return for the most nominal changes and release of a man who should never have been in jail, he can win the whole prize," he said.

Mr Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, said that Mr de Klerk had taken brave steps and put himself in a no-man's land between the extreme whites and where he needed to get to.

But, he emphasized, "we cannot relax the pressure too early until the scaffolding of apartheid has been abolished and dismantled."

## Safety test for UK Perrier

By Mark Souster

Tests on Perrier water will begin today to discover whether supplies to Britain have been contaminated with benzene, a solvent which has been linked with cancer, the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food said yesterday.

The move follows a health scare in the United States where very small quantities of benzene — a clear, flammable liquid used to make lacquers, varnishes and dyes — were found in bottles in North Carolina. The Perrier Group has voluntarily recalled its entire stock in the US and Canada while the cause of contamination is investigated.

In Britain, the ministry said

the tests "were a precautionary measure. There is no cause for alarm and no immediate health concern."

The Food Safety Directorate will conduct the tests and the results should be known by the end of the week. The Department of Health said it would not be issuing a

health warning until then. "We have not advised anyone not to drink Perrier," The American Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has also said there is no public health risk.

The French parent company has ruled out contamination at source after checks by the French Ministry of Health at the spring in Vergèze, Camargue. Deliberate tampering is also thought to have been eliminated.

Miss Delphine Barrett, of Perrier UK, which has 60 per cent of the mineral water market in Britain, said yesterday: "It seems to be very clear that there is no problem in this country. If there was any worry we would have done something. We are confident there is no problem."

Reports that production of Perrier in France had been suspended were dismissed last night as "totally untrue".

## Heavy rain brings more floods as gales go on

By Robin Young

High winds struck again yesterday with gusts of up to 98mph at Berry Head, Cornwall, while heavy rain worsened floods in the South-west.

Ships ran for shelter and urgent flood alerts went out as the police warned motorists to stay at home unless their journey was essential.

The gales brought winds of 70mph to 90mph along the south coast yesterday afternoon and last night, but died down later. The forecast for today is for another windy day with blustery showers, wintry in many places, developing. There is a possibility of snow

as far south as Norfolk and of sleet in the South-east.

The best of the sunshine will be in the East and South-east, but gales or severe gales are expected in exposed regions of the West and North and the extreme East, moderating during the afternoon and evening but persisting over Scotland. The winds and heavy showers will continue to make driving conditions difficult.

The tenth successive day of heavy rain was blamed yesterday for flooding in the West.

Forecast details.....20

Continued on page 28, col 7

### INSIDE

#### 'Paddy' named Crufts' top dog

Paddy, a West Highland white terrier owned by Mr and Mrs Derek Tattersall of Bury, Lancashire, won the Crufts Supreme Championship last night. The white four-year-old, whose pedigree name is Champion Olac Moonpilot, had previously won several championships.....Page 5

#### Tyson defeat causes storm

The defeat of the previously unbeaten champion, Mike Tyson, by James Douglas on a tenth round knockout in their world heavyweight title bout in Tokyo was followed by a bitter controversy about a "long count" Douglas had taken.....Page 36

### INDEX

Home News.....	5,6,8
Overseas.....	2,3,9,10
Business.....	21-28
Sport.....	31-36
Arts.....	15
Births, marriages, deaths.....	16
Crosswords.....	18-20
Classified.....	12
Education.....	27-28
Entertainment.....	18
Features.....	11,12,17
Information.....	18
Law Report.....	30
Leading articles.....	13
Letters.....	14
Nature notes.....	14
Obituary.....	14
Saloon.....	14
Social.....	15
Science Report.....	15
Snow reports.....	34
TV & Radio.....	19
Weather.....	20
Wills.....	14

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# Calls for sanctions to stay temper party atmosphere

By Andrew McEwen, Diplomatic Editor

The scenes of rejoicing in Paarl yesterday were matched by excited and enthusiastic reactions from around the world, many of them coupled with calls for pressure against apartheid to be maintained.

The United Nations, the European Community, the Commonwealth and the Organization of African Unity were among the first to welcome Mr Mandela's release.

Señor Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the UN Secretary-General, linked his welcome to a call for the release of all political prisoners and lifting the state of emergency.

The European Commission expressed delight and said it hoped South Africa would move peacefully towards a multiracial democracy.

The Commonwealth, in a statement on behalf of Mr Shridath Ramphal, its Secretary-General, said it gave an "unreserved welcome" to the news. It said it was a triumph over "apartheid's custodian at home and its apologists

abroad" — a remark seen as a reference to Britain. But it said there would be no celebration that Mr Mandela had been released under conditions of emergency. In a television interview, Mr Ramphal urged that sanctions against South Africa should not be relaxed.

Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, the Secretary-General of the OAU, welcomed Mr Mandela's release but said the euphoria should not divert attention from the campaign to dismantle apartheid. Sanctions should continue.

Mr Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, called Mr Mandela's release "very heartening" and said President de Klerk should be congratulated.

Mr Hurd is expected to attend Namibia's independence next month, to which Mr Mandela has also been invited. Mr Hurd is likely to visit South Africa at about the same time, and may be followed by Mrs Thatcher later in the year.

Anti-apartheid groups saw

Mr Mandela's release as the vindication of years of demonstrations, not least in Trafalgar Square, London, where there was a festive atmosphere outside the South African Embassy.

Church bells were rung in many towns at 1pm — the time Mr Mandela's release had been expected — and the flag of the ANC was hung from some town halls.

The Southern Africa Coalition, a group of more than 100 British organizations, said it was delighted. But it described the intention of the British Government to relax a ban on investment as "the wrong step at a critical point".

Mr Oliver Tambo, leader-in-exile of the ANC, was told about Mr Mandela's release in the hospital near Stockholm where he is recovering from a stroke. Mr Billy Modise, chief representative of the ANC in Sweden, said: "I visited him to give him the news. He was absolutely jubilant."

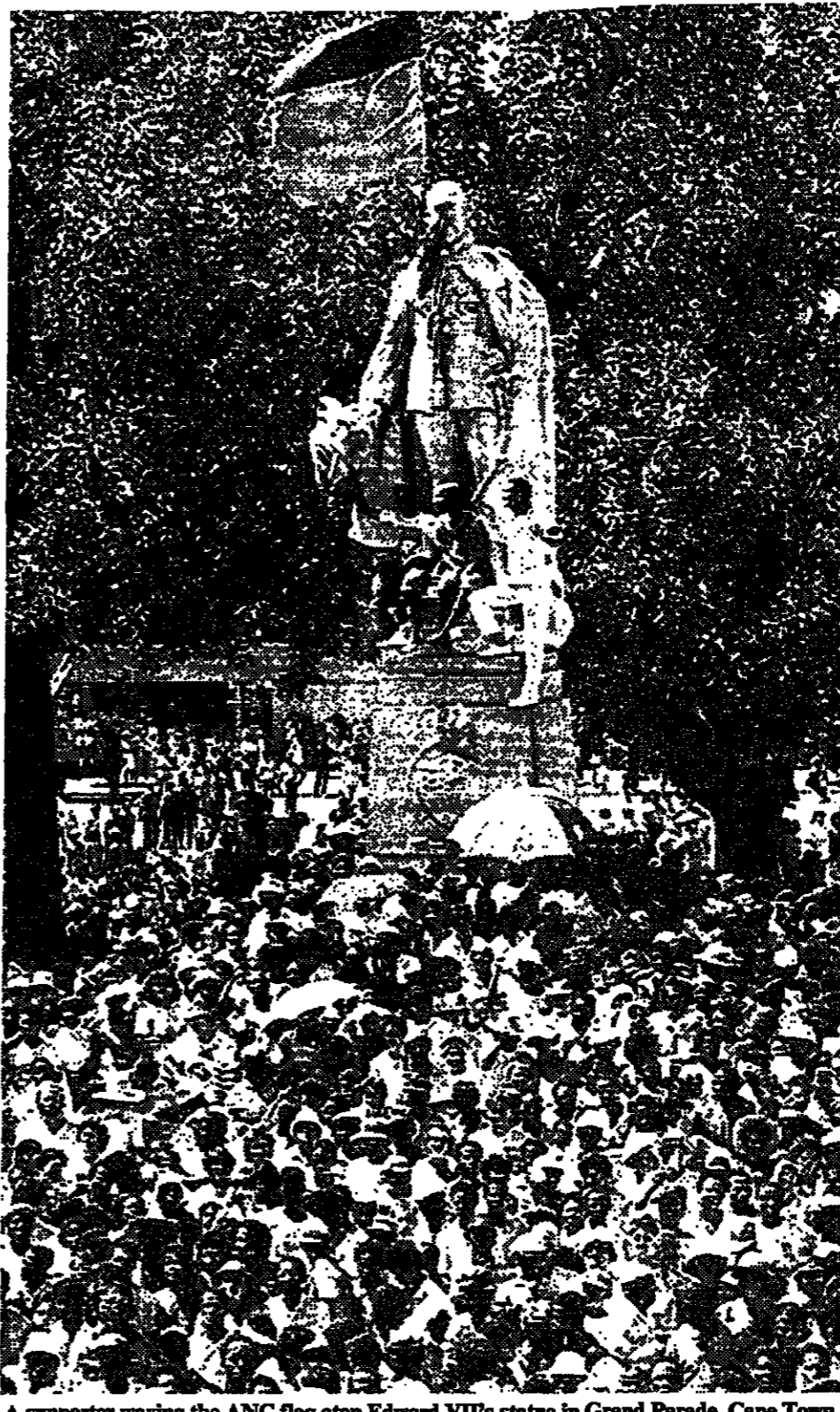
President Rafsanjani of Iran

urged Mr Mandela to refuse an invitation from Mrs Thatcher to visit Britain. He said Britain was a prime backer of white minority rule and responsible for "decades of crimes by whites in Africa".

Concern for Mr Mandela was expressed by Mr Bernie Grant, the black Labour MP who is in South Africa with the Rev Jesse Jackson, the American former presidential candidate. They addressed a rally at Crossroads, a black township outside Cape Town, on Saturday shortly before shooting broke out. Mr Grant said later: "In the past, I have made unflattering comparisons between police in the UK and South Africa. But I can say now there is absolutely no comparison. South African police are simply a law unto themselves."

Mrs Zenani Mandela-Dlamini, aged 31, a daughter of Mr Mandela, expressed her joy in Boston, but said that the campaign to end apartheid should continue.

## Crowd waits to hail returning hero



A supporter waving the ANC flag atop Edward VII's statue in Grand Parade, Cape Town.

## Toll of death goes on

From Ray Kennedy

Johannesburg  
Four people died and 17 were injured yesterday when a car ploughed into a crowd celebrating the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The incident, in the black township of KwaZakhele, near Port Elizabeth in the Cape Province, brought the weekend toll of violent death to at least 18. Seven of those killed were shot by police, five dying when the police opened fire on a youth rally in Tokozza township near Germiston, east of Johannesburg, on Saturday.

At least 45 other people were injured at the rally. Police said they fired tear gas and birdshot into the crowd when it attacked vehicles and two hostels with stones and petrol bombs.

In Natal, where more than 2,000 people have died and hundreds of thousands have been injured in political violence between blacks in the past 3½ years, four more were killed by rampaging mobs at the weekend. Black leaders hope that Mr Mandela's release may help to bring peace to the area.

Two Indians were killed and 15 injured in a clash with blacks in Durban, Natal's biggest city, and a black policeman shot two people dead as a mob attacked his house in a township outside Baskerville in the eastern Cape.

In the high-rise multi-racial central Johannesburg residential area of Hillbrow, a black man was shot in the head by a white gunman early yesterday morning as hundreds of blacks celebrated news of Mr Mandela's impending release. The gunman disappeared into the crowds and escaped.

## Exiled leaders say 'not enough'

From Jan Raath, Harare

The African National Congress leadership yesterday welcomed the release of Mr Nelson Mandela as a step that "will move matters a considerable degree forward in creating a climate conducive to negotiation".

However, a statement issued by Mr Pallo Jordan, a senior member of the ANC National Executive Committee and the movement's chief spokesman, made it clear that President de Klerk had not gone far enough to permit talks to begin.

Mr Jordan said it was "a cause of deep regret that F.W. de Klerk still moves

with such caution and circumspection" on the release of other political prisoners, citing the continued imprisonment of combatants from Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

The continuation of the three-year state of emergency undermined the impact of the steps taken so far, the statement said. The ANC leadership, including Mr Mandela, is adamant that it will not embark on talks until Pretoria meets all preconditions set out in its Harare declaration: the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of political prisoners and the abolition of

political trials. Mr Jordan called on Mr de Klerk to end police action against ANC members, referring to "brutal attacks" last week in Johannesburg and the township of Katlehong.

As to the likelihood of Mr Mandela's assuming leadership of the ANC, he said there was "no doubt that he would continue to make an outstanding and indispensable contribution to the struggle to liberate South Africa".

Dr Zac de Beer, co-leader of the liberal Democratic Party, said yesterday: "The stakes are desperately high. If whites are selfish or blacks are vengeful,

we shall endure decades of misery. But if whites are generous and blacks are forgiving, the sky is the limit."

The South African Chamber of Commerce described the release as "a major step".

Archbishop Desmond Tutu called the release "mind-boggling" and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, leader of the Zulu Inkatha movement, called it "a final act of decency which will not rub out the past but will at least do what can be done". The United Democratic Front called on supporters to celebrate fully.

Fresh trials, page 12  
Leading article, page 13

## Death threats cast shadow over celebrations

From Gavin Bell, Bellville



Steve Biko: Inspiration of non-compromise revolution.

In an auditorium at the University of the Western Cape delicious students were dancing, clapping and singing a new chorus: "Mandela, show us the way to freedom."

At the main entrance to the campus, a young black was saying with quiet conviction: "Mandela must die." A mile up the street, rival black gangs were battling in a township with axes, knives, bottles and bricks.

It would be heartening to report that news of Mr Mandela's release was received with universal acclaim. It would also be incorrect.

There is no doubt that the African National Congress and its veteran leader enjoy overwhelming support in black, Coloured (mixed race) and Indian communities throughout South Africa. For the majority, Mr Mandela is a revered figure akin to Gandhi in pre-independence India. But there are radicals with

considerable influence, notably in the western Cape, who regard Mr Mandela and his organization as traitors to the revolutionary cause.

No dissenters were apparent in the throng which swept into the university auditorium in a spontaneous exhibition of joy, waving flags of the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) and chanting their mantra: "Power to the people."

Outside, a lone figure was waiting patiently for transport to his township. He was pleased to accept a lift and to explain in measured terms why Mr Mandela may be murdered by one of his own people.

"Fariel" is an activist of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), one of several groups affiliated to the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) that have remained faithful to the revolutionary strategies of Steve Biko, who

died in the hands of the security police in 1977. Their credo is that the Government should simply abdicate power to the black majority or be compelled to do so by force of arms, and they reject any form of dialogue as heresy.

"We are the true leftist movement, not the dummy ANC," Fariel says. "Mandela's release is no victory for us. The leftists among his own people are going to hunt him down. Some are actually talking about killing him. They feel he must die."

He had just attended a meeting of a local cell of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), a splinter group of the ANC which broadly shares the Black Consciousness ideology. He said several speakers had directed their fury against Mr Joe Slovo, the leader of the Communist Party.

For the radicals, Biko is the true messiah and Mr Mandela is no substitute. "We feel the

ANC is selling us out by negotiating with the regime. Millions have died spiritually in the struggle, and now Mandela is betraying them. He's become a stooge of the National Party."

Fariel says that, while the BCM and its affiliates would never incite violence against Mr Mandela or Mr Slovo, individual activists were capable of suicidal attacks against them. "This is not empty rhetoric, the threat is real. I will not be the one to pull the trigger, but I won't be sorry when it happens."

The Government and the ANC are taking death threats by both the radical left and extremists on the white right seriously. "Yes, there is a real risk and one must take every precaution to ensure that nothing happens to him," President de Klerk said at the weekend.

The ANC is unlikely to request state assistance in

protecting Mr Mandela, and it is understood that members of the organization's armed wing have been entrusted with ensuring his security. Government sources have indicated they will turn a blind eye to armed bodyguards recruited from ANC ranks, provided they act with discretion.

● PAC welcome: The radical Pan Africanist Congress welcomed the release of Mr Mandela yesterday but said Mr de Klerk should not be praised for freeing him.

"While we rejoice that Mandela is now a relatively free person, the PAC has no praises for F.W. de Klerk. By releasing Mandela and other political prisoners, de Klerk is not doing the dispossessed African majority any favour," the guerrilla group said in a statement.

"There is nothing new except that there are more draconian laws than there were when he went to prison."

## Mixed feeling as Paarl loses most famous resident

From Gavin Bell, Paarl

A few yards from the Victor Verster prison in the western Cape, there is a wine and dairy cattle farm called La Paarl, with a water tap beside the front gate.

Amid chaotic scenes outside the prison yesterday, an orderly queue of ANC supporters formed in the heat to quench their thirst at the tap, with the benign approval of the white farmer and his wife. "It's wonderful to see so many happy faces," the wife said. "There's no anger or aggression, everyone is so polite."

Her husband agreed. "If we can carry on with this sort of atmosphere, then we should have no problems. I think it's something that had to happen. Time is marching on, you know." He added reflectively: "It's a funny thing. He's been our neighbour for so many years and we've never seen him. He won't even know about us, but I wish him well."

Their sentiments were shared by some, but certainly not all, of the residents of Paarl, a neat community of whitewashed houses nestled beneath the Drakenstein Mountains.

There is a touch of irony in the choice of Victor Verster, on the outskirts of the town, as Mr Mandela's last detention centre. Paarl is regarded as the birthplace of the Afrikaners language and of the 19th-century Boer revolt against British colonial rule.

A monument to the language dominates the town, in the heart of the Cape wine-growing region, which remains a stronghold of the governing National Party. Mr

Mandela would have seen the monument from his prison warder's villa every day for the past 14 months.

Yesterday the streets were deserted, as if the town was deliberately turning its back on its most famous prisoner. Only the occasional dilapidated vehicle careering down the main street with ANC flags flying disturbed the tranquillity of the Sabbath in this conservative stronghold of the Dutch Reformed Church.

A liquor store owner, emerging from the OK supermarket with his wife, paused to say: "This is a very bad day for South Africa. Where else can you let a terrorist out of prison? De Klerk is giving the land away — our land — and if communism is coming, where can the white people go? There is only the sea."

His wife chipped in: "You people must realize that what you have in London are educated blacks. The ones here have just come from the veld. When they come to town, they don't know how to behave. They don't know what hygiene is."

Both support the strident demands of the extreme-right Conservative Party for spitting the country into separate, race-based states. "There's only one way and that's a kind of separate development," the store owner said. "You can't mix people together who don't want to."

Mr Kockie van der Merwe, an attorney, and his wife, are also Afrikaners from Paarl, but they have a different view. "We are delighted Nelson is out," he said.

## Few rally to far right's summoning of racist faithful

From Nicholas Beeston

Pretoria

Students at the University of Pretoria this weekend unwittingly dealt South Africa's neo-Nazi groups the ultimate humiliation.

Dressed in garish outfits, teenagers paraded several thousand strong through the busy streets of Pretoria on Saturday morning. They were taking part in a good-natured, apolitical rally to mark their rag week.

But that afternoon, when the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and its white supremacist ally, the Boerestant Party, mounted its first political demonstration against President de Klerk's reform programme, barely 1,000 protesters — dressed in khaki uniforms and

waving swastika flags — showed up. After nine momentous days that have witnessed the fastest erosion of Afrikaner political strength since the National Party came to power in 1948, the self-proclaimed guardians of the Volk, standing to attention before the scornful gaze of President Kruger's statue, failed to launch their much promised right-wing backlash.

Even their rhetoric was lost in a welter of confused threats against a broad spectrum of enemies, ranging from the Rev Jesse Jackson to Mrs Margaret Thatcher — with the Star of David burnt midway through the proceedings for good measure.

Mr Eugene Terre Blanche, aged 45, the leader of the AWB, a rousing orator who was greeted with Nazi salutes, vowed not to give up one

centimetre of the white land in South Africa.

"The AWB will never allow the ANC and the South African Communist Party to open their offices here," he declared. After leading a march to the administrative headquarters of the Government, Mr Terre Blanche presented the authorities with 30 pieces of silver — a symbol of President de Klerk's alleged betrayal of his people.

The allusion to Judas gave the right wing badly needed publicity at a time when attention is focused elsewhere. It will not, however, improve the fortunes of the various organizations on the right, who have been taken by surprise and hopelessly outmanoeuvred by President de Klerk.

While there is great apprehension

about the future in the Afrikaner community, President de Klerk appears to have galvanized enough support to carry his reform package through.

The Afrikaner right, ranging from the mainstream Conservative Party, which wants to keep old-style apartheid, to extremist underground cells that intend to take the fight into the streets, are now being forced to consider desperate measures to reimpose themselves on the political map.

Among the plans under consideration are a boycott of the Government, acts of civil disobedience, strikes among white workers in the public sector, political rallies and violence.

Possibly the most bitter pill for the right to swallow is that their

tactics are precisely those pursued for decades by the anti-apartheid movement.

● Treurnicht silent: Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of South Africa's white supremacist Conservative Party, the official Opposition in the white Parliament, was one man not watching television yesterday when Mr Mandela emerged from the Victor Verster prison.

He refused to make any comment whatever, saying only that as it was Sunday he was devoting the day to Christian worship.

President de Klerk warned Dr Treurnicht in Parliament on Friday that he would not allow anyone or any party to "set the country alight". On Thursday the Conservative Party is planning to stage a mass "march of freedom" in Pretoria.

## 'I stand before you not as a prophet, but as a humble servant'

The following is a partial text of Mr Nelson Mandela's address at the rally in Cape Town last night.

Friends, comrades and fellow South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all. I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people.

Your heroic sacrifices made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands. Before I go any further I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage.

I will make a more public statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult my comrades.

Today, the majority of South Africans, black and

white, recognize that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security.

The mass campaigns of defiance and other actions of our organisation and people can only culminate with the establishment of democracy. The apartheid destruction on our subcontinent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of our people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed, our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife.

Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The factors which

necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement be created soon so that there may no longer be need for the armed struggle.

I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African Nat-

● Your heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today ●

tional Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives, strategies and tactics.

The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is

able to take on this enormous task on his own.

It is our task as leaders to place our vision before our organization and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward. On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty-bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national conference. This is a principle which must be upheld without any exceptions.

Today I wish to report to you that my talks with the Government have been aimed at normalizing the political situation in the country. We have not as yet begun discussing the basic demands of the struggle. I wish to stress that I, myself, have at no time entered into negotiation about

the future of our country except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the Government.

Mr de Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalize the situation. However, there are further steps as outlined in the

● The need to unite our people is as important a task as it has ever been ●

Harare Declaration that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin.

I reiterate our call for, *inter alia*, the immediate ending of the state of emergency and the freeing of all and not only

some political prisoners. Only such a normalized situation which allows for free political activity, can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiations. Negotiations cannot take place above the heads or behind the backs of our people.

It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis. Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

There must be an end to

white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic system to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society democratized.

It must be added that Mr de Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the danger of a public figure not honouring his undertakings. But as an organization we base our policy and strategies on the harsh reality we are faced with and this reality is that we are still suffering under a policy of the Nationalist government. Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. We call on our people to seize this moment so that the process towards democracy is rapid and uninterrupted. We have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer

wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive. The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts.

It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured. We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you too. We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid. Our march to freedom is irreversible.

THE RELEASE OF MANDELA

# Thatcher presses for end to bans on new investment

By Andrew McEwen, Diplomatic Editor

Mrs Thatcher yesterday wrote to European Community and Commonwealth leaders calling for a more positive approach to South Africa after Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

Britain will also tell both groups of countries that it wants to resume investment in South Africa. The two organisations decided in 1986 to ban new investment.

Opposition to the British request is likely unless President de Klerk drops the state of emergency quickly.

The investment sanction remains in force pending discussions, but it is understood that Britain will break out of its commitment unilaterally if it does not get agreement.

Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, has written to Mr Charles Haughey, the Irish Prime Minister and current President of the EC, urging that pressure on apartheid should not be eased.

Mrs Thatcher said in a statement on Saturday that discouragement of investment in South Africa "no longer makes sense". Mr Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, will seek approval at a meeting of the Twelve in Dublin on February 20 for ending the measure.

Commonwealth sources said that it was likely that Britain's 48 partners would wait for advice from a group of nine foreign ministers before taking a decision. They

are not due to meet until May, but that could be brought forward. Britain is not a member of the group.

South African business leaders hoped that Mr Mandela's release would stop foreign disinvestment and boost financial markets.

Mr Gavin Kelly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, the country's biggest company, said: "Mr Mandela's return to public life creates opportunities for all parties to engage in reasoned debate about how to structure democratic politics in a future South Africa."

Mr Ronnie Bethlehem, chief economist of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company Ltd, said that Mr Mandela's release was a "fantastic gesture" which would greatly relieve pressure for further sanctions in the US, Western Europe and Japan.

Whitehall sources said yesterday that Britain was legally entitled to drop the investment ban unilaterally, as neither the EC nor the Commonwealth agreement took the form of a treaty. Ten days ago it dropped another sanction agreed with the EC and the Commonwealth — the discouragement of cultural, academic and scientific contacts.

There are 10 other sanctions which Britain could drop as they are not legally binding: 1. A ban on arms imports agreed with the EC and

Commonwealth in 1985; 2. A ban on exports of sensitive equipment (EC, Commonwealth, 1985); 3. No new military attaches to be appointed (EC, 1985); 4. A ban on military co-operation (EC, Commonwealth, 1985); 5. A ban on oil exports (EC, 1985; Commonwealth, 1986); 6. The Gleneagles Declaration on discouraging sporting contacts (Commonwealth, 1977; reaffirmed, 1985); 7. A ban on new nuclear collaboration (EC, Commonwealth, 1985); 8. A ban on new government loans to South African Government and agencies (Commonwealth, 1985); 9. No government funding for trade missions to South Africa (Commonwealth, 1985); 10. A voluntary ban on promoting tourism (Commonwealth, 1986).

Before 1985, about 300 American companies operated in South Africa. About half have since left, including most of the best-known multinationals — Ford, General Motors, Coca-Cola and IBM. One in five British companies has disinvested.

Manufacturing industry has developed very slowly and South Africa remains dependent on gold for about 30 per cent of exports. Economic growth of 4 per cent during the 1970s slowed to less than 2 per cent in the 1980s.

# Cape violence flares ahead of welcome



An unidentified man appealing for calm as a policeman fires his shotgun into the ground during the outbreak of violence yesterday in central Cape Town.

## Murder trial revives ANC embarrassment

# Question mark over wife's future role

By Nicholas Beeson, Johannesburg, and Michael Hornsby, London

Among the many urgent political matters awaiting Mr Nelson Mandela's attention now that he is out of prison is one of a more intimate and domestic nature — the future role of his vivacious, outspoken and, in recent years, increasingly alcoholic wife, Winnie.

As the Mandela household, and South Africa at large, celebrated Mr Mandela's release from his long incarceration, one of Mrs Mandela's youthful supporters was today to appear in the Johannesburg Supreme Court on a charge of murder.

The case relates to an incident in late 1988 when Mrs Mandela's Soweto bodyguard, known as the Mandela United Soccer Club, were accused of abducting four youths and beating one of them, Stompie Seake, aged 14, to death.

For the exiled African National Congress and Mr Mandela, the incident was deeply embarrassing.

Early last year anti-apartheid

leaders inside South Africa publicly repudiated her, and for many months afterwards the "Mother of the Nation" vanished from sight.

Towards the end of last year she began to reappear at opposition rallies, but there still has been no public reconciliation between her and the anti-apartheid movement, and the ANC has felt obliged to issue public corrections of some of her recent statements.

Mrs Mandela is expected to be called as a key witness in the court case, which threatens to damage further her already tarnished image. Nine people associated with the Mandela soccer club face charges over Mooketsi's death.

The prosecution is expected to allege that Mrs Mandela and her bodyguards, who devoted little time to football, were responsible for a "reign of terror" in Soweto during which they staged kangaroo trials of political opponents in Mrs Mandela's house, meting out beatings as punishments.

She has denied any wrongdoing.

Mrs Mandela first drew unwelcome publicity for the ANC four years ago at a rally in Soweto when she appeared to endorse the hideous "necklace killings" in which petrol-soaked tyres were set ablaze after being placed round the necks of political opponents and suspected government collaborators.

A year later she was sharply criticised for using the funds of well-wishers and the royalties from a ghost-written book about her life to build a posh house, including gold bath taps and Italian ceramic tiles, on a hillside in Soweto, where the majority of blacks live in overcrowded and box-like houses.

Both the ANC and Mr Mandela, in a message from prison, had to intervene to prevent Mrs Mandela from moving into the mansion, which stands unfinished and empty to this day, a monument to the delusions of grandeur which many of her

former supporters fear has come over a woman some now call a "black Evita".

Aged 55, Mrs Mandela, despite all the adverse publicity of recent years, undoubtedly continues to command widespread affection and sympathy in black townships.

"She is blunt, rash, emotional and speaks from the heart — that is why people respond to her and why she is controversial," Mrs Fatima Meer, author of the authorised biography of Mr Mandela, said in a recent interview. "Even during the crisis, Winnie had the support and loyalty of many, many people. She will remain highly visible and widely respected."

The Mandelas were married in 1958, when Winnie was a 24-year-old social worker. They were to have little time together.

Her husband, already one of the leading lights in the ANC, was deeply involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, alternately on trial for treason, on

the run from the authorities or underground. In 1962 he was arrested and remained in custody until yesterday.

Mrs Mandela was herself under police restrictions or house arrest almost continuously from 1963 to 1986 and was held in solitary confinement for 17 months in 1969 and 1970.

In 1987 the South African Government lifted a ban which had prohibited her from being quoted by the South African media, apparently in the belief that she had become so controversial that her utterances were more likely to retard, than advance, the cause of black liberation.

The question now is whether she will be content to play the dutiful wife of the released black leader or will want her own political role.

As Mrs Helen Suzman, another formidable figure in South African politics and an admirer and friend of Mrs Mandela's, once said: "Winnie never fitted the description of a shrinking violet."

# Soweto's biggest street party draws thousands

From Nicholas Beeson, Soweto

Thousands of South Africans of all races made a pilgrimage yesterday to a modest brick bungalow in this sprawling township.

Mr Nelson Mandela was on his way home after an absence of 27 years, and no one, from the groups of dancing children to the elderly couples in their smartest Sunday clothes, wanted to miss Soweto's biggest street party.

Television crews with satellite dishes blocked off the side-streets, mini-buses from neighbouring black and Coloured townships cruised up and down, honking horns and waving ANC flags, and even the shebeens, the black drinking houses, offered free beer.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was conducting the christening service for his grandson, admitted to the packed congregation at the nearby Holy Cross Anglican Church that he had been unable to sleep the night before in anticipation of the homecoming. To mark the

occasion he added the name Nkululeko to his grandson's three Christian names, the word for freedom in Xhosa.

"I think Mandela is going to have a shock when he sees this reception," said George, a neighbour of the Mandelas who has only vague childhood memories of a slightly overweight youthful figure who disappeared from the community one day in 1962.

Elderly neighbours who knew Mr Mandela before his imprisonment remembered him as an up-and-coming black lawyer and political activist who you could rely on for help.

The residents of Orlando West, where the Mandelas' home is located, form practically the Who's Who of black South Africa's political and professional elite.

Mr Walter Sisulu, the ANC leader freed last year, lives a few hundred yards away; Archbishop Tutu has a house a few doors down the same road as the Mandelas. Across

the street in a housing complex built during Mr Mandela's imprisonment and known locally as "Beverly Hills" live the township's most successful doctors, lawyers and upwardly mobile professionals.

"I am not sure he will be able to recognize the area after so many years and so much change," said one American-educated black businessman.

If Mr Mandela finds the social changes dramatic in Soweto after 27 years, he may also find that adjusting to his new lifestyle is even more extraordinary.

The small fence that once surrounded his garden has been replaced by a tall concrete wall and barbed wire.

No longer the promising young lawyer, he will be expected to emerge from his incarceration as a world leader and elder statesman. ANC officials predicted that he would need 24-hour armed guards to protect him from the threat of assassination.

# Trafalgar Square delight

By Alan Hamilton

Hundreds of anti-apartheid demonstrators blocking the street in front of South Africa House in Trafalgar Square yesterday broke into prolonged cheering at the news they had awaited so long.

As the clock of St Martin-in-the-Fields showed 18 minutes past two, a member of the platform party that had been conducting a celebratory rally seized the microphone and roared: "Mandela is released."

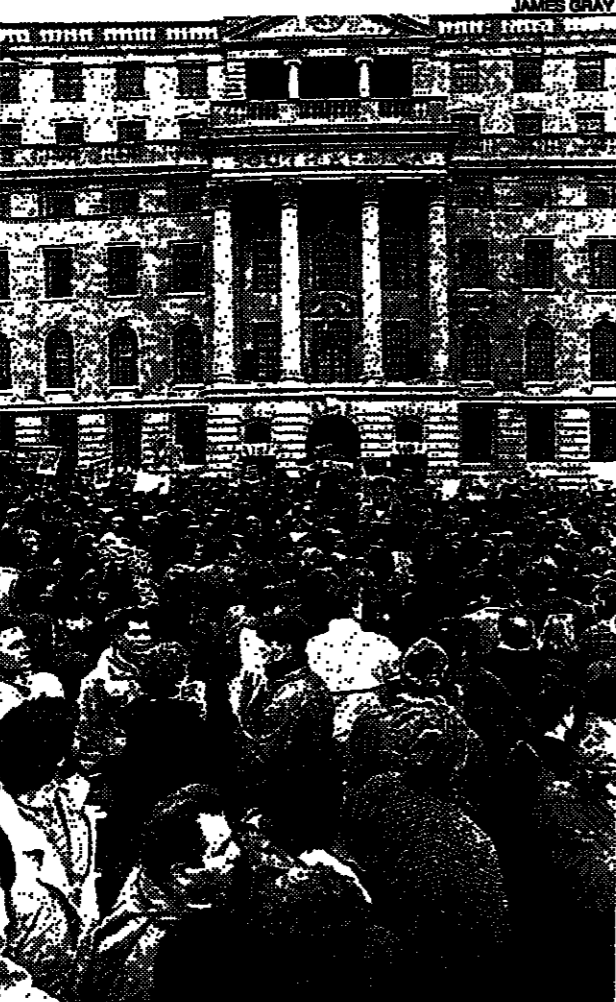
The crowd roared back, dancing and waving a forest of arms in black-power salutes. Somewhere above the excited din a champagne cork went off like a gun.

Within seconds the roar had turned to the familiar chant of "Free Mandela" — what had been a demand was now a statement of fact.

Two dozen policemen surrounding the rally looked on impassively, but there was no trouble except for traffic disruption. Black activists on the platform urged the crowd to join in the singing of the African National Congress anthem. The crowd, overwhelmingly young and white, did not know the words and responded with raised and clenched fists.

The chant turned to "Viva Mandela", with an additional "Viva" for each name as a list of prominent black activists still in prison was read out. The biting wind tugged at the green, yellow and black flags of the ANC that sprouted from the crowd, along with familiar banners: Woolwich and Eitham Labour Party, Hackney Communist Party, Socialist Workers' Party of Great Britain, Harlesden Methodist Church.

High above the crowd the official blue, white and orange flag of the Republic of South



A crowd of anti-apartheid protesters gathered in front of the South African embassy in London to hear the good news.

Africa streamed from the embassy roof. A light burned on the first floor, but no face showed at the window, and the gates remained shut.

In front of them, another hastily prepared poster recalled that Mr Mandela's supporters in Britain had maintained a vigil on that

# Bastions of apartheid still to be toppled

By Michael Hornsby

After more than 27 years in jail, Mr Nelson Mandela emerges to freedom in a South Africa where the prospects for a negotiated settlement of the racial conflict have never looked so promising.

Much of the injustice and discrimination that he fought against is being rapidly eroded by the momentum of political and economic change. Yet paradoxically, he will also find many of the legal pillars of the apartheid edifice remain in place.

A central target of the African National Congress and other black groups in the coming negotiations must be the Land Act. One of the first moves of the ANC after its founding in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress, was to send a delegation to Britain to protest against the Act, which had been passed the previous year.

The Act allocated a mere 7 per cent of the country as native reserves. In 1936 this proportion was increased to

13 per cent. The Act remains the basis of so-called "grand apartheid", which gives the white 15 per cent of the population virtually unchallengeable title to 57 per cent of the land and divides the rest of South Africa into tribally defined "homelands" for

No less important is the Population Registration Act of 1950, passed two years after the National Party swept South's United Party from power. D.F. Malan, the first Nationalist Prime Minister, called it "the whole basis of apartheid". Apartheid itself was a term that was widely used for the first time in the 1948 election campaign. It is the Afrikaans-language word for "apartness" or "separateness".

Under the Act, all South Africans must be registered as belonging to one of four main race groups defined by law — black (which in South African parlance applies only to blacks of Negroid

descent), Coloureds (those of mixed race), Asians (in practice, those of Indian descent) and whites (mainly those of European descent). There are about 22 million blacks, five million whites, three million Coloureds and one million Indians.

A South African's racial classification largely determines his or her rights. The Group Areas Act, also passed in 1950, segregates residential areas in urban areas, in effect relegating blacks, Coloureds and Indians to ghettos on the fringes of "white" towns. It also provides for racially separate schools and hospitals.

The Government has said that it will recognize "grey areas", where racial mixing has taken place illegally, and has set up a mechanism whereby whites-only suburbs may vote to become multi-racial if they wish. Hospitals are moving slowly towards desegregation. Many private schools have been multi-racial for years, but the Government

is still strongly opposed to racial integration of state schools.

For decades a range of public services and amenities — toilets, cinemas, hotels, restaurants, parks, libraries, swimming-pools, beaches, buses, trains and even graveyards — were strictly segregated. Much of this "petty apartheid" has gone or is going (the last beaches were desegregated just before Christmas) but the legal basis for it remains in the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. Pretoria has promised to repeal the Act during this session of Parliament.

Over the past decade three important pieces of apartheid legislation have been abolished. In 1985 the Bantu Education Act was repealed. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the notorious Section 16 of the Immorality Act, which together forbade sexual relations, inside or outside marriage, between whites and members of any

other race group. The next year saw the abolition of the pass laws, which prohibited blacks from living outside the tribal homelands unless they had special passes. Their presence in urban areas was generally tolerated only if they were needed as labour.

Blacks still may not own land or operate businesses in most of South Africa.

Even if all remaining apartheid laws were repealed tomorrow, the central question of political rights would remain. Under the 1984 Constitution, the South African Parliament consists of three segregated chambers — for whites, Coloureds and Asians. The system is designed to give the white chamber the final say. The blacks are not represented.

The Government still talks of a political system based on "group rights" (code for continued white control), and has refused to accept the principle of majority rule even as a distant goal.

# Rivonia comrades who shared jail hardship

Johannesburg (Reuters) — Mr Nelson Mandela's release from jail means that all the leading African National Congress activists captured in the early 1960s are now free.

Nine men stood in the dock at the 1964 Rivonia treason trial, named after the village outside Johannesburg where the ANC High Command was situated and where most of the leaders were arrested following a police raid in July, 1963.

Only one of the defendants, Mr Lionel "Rusty" Beresford, was acquitted of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow white rule, but he was

immediately rearrested and banned after the trial. He later escaped from South Africa. The remaining eight were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. Mr Dennis Goldberg, the only other white defendant, was freed in 1985 after accepting President Botha's offer of an amnesty if he renounced violence.

The other members of the Rivonia Eight rejected the amnesty deal. The oldest, Mr Govan Mbeki, born in 1910, was released from Robben Island in November, 1988.

Five of the Rivonia defendants were released in October, 1989. A few

weeks after his colleagues' release, Mr Mbeki's restrictions were lifted.

Most prominent of those freed is Mr Walter Sisulu, former Secretary-General of the ANC, regarded as Mr Mandela's closest comrade and one of the ANC's most notable intellectuals. In 1962, Mr Sisulu went underground to join Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military wing. He went to jail in July, 1963, after being captured at the Rivonia farmhouse raid.

Another of Mandela's co-accused was Mr Raymond Mhlaba, a trade unionist active from the mid-1940s in

both the ANC and the South African Communist Party. He played a key local role in anti-apartheid protest from his home in the eastern Cape.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni became one of the founder members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. During the early 1960s he was involved in hiding recruits and procuring arms.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada was elected Secretary-General of the left-wing Transvaal Indian Congress and played a key role in boosting the group's links with the ANC.

Mr Elias Matsoaledi served with Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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### Two share weekend winnings

Two share weekend winnings...  
The winners of the weekend lottery were...  
The winners of the weekend lottery were...



Mr David Rayner, New Year's Day columnist

### ADVERTISMENT Breakthrough for male sex problems

ADVERTISMENT Breakthrough for male sex problems...  
An important breakthrough...  
The breakthrough...  
The breakthrough...  
The breakthrough...

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## Church and homosexuality

# Bishops face strong synod pressure to make report public

By Clifford Longley, Religious Affairs Editor

Bishops will face renewed pressure at the General Synod of the Church of England later this month to publish a controversial report on homosexuality, after the leaking of the text last week.

The report makes no final judgement on the morality of homosexual activity but reports all sides of the argument. It urges the Church to take seriously what homosexuals say.

It was commissioned by the House of Bishops which, in response to the leak, said that the report was "not an accepted policy document".

Traditionalists, who want to drive practising homosexuals out of the ranks of the clergy, would have preferred a full debate. They will, however, settle for the opportunity to ask a series of barbed questions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, who is chairman of the House of Bishops, answers questions on the bishops' behalf.

Questions about the confidential report have become almost a fixture during synod question time, though Dr Runcie's answers have invariably been a model of non-communication.

It is thought inevitable that a private member's motion will appear on the synod order paper for a debate in the summer or autumn, if the bishops do not pre-empt it with one of their own. In either event, Dr Runcie would have to present a defence of the way the House of Bishops

have handled the matter. The traditionalists and the pro-homosexual lobby in the Church want the report published in order to reopen the debate. Neither side felt satisfied with the debate and resolution in the 1987 synod.

Resistance to publication has come from the moderates, who felt that the 1987 resolution — which declared homosexual acts to "fall short" of the Christian ideal and therefore a matter for repentance — was a workable compromise.

The Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement claims to have long known about the report and its sympathy to their case.

The traditionalists would use a reopened debate to press

### Opportunity for barbed questions to Dr Runcie

for a firm policy preventing the ordination of homosexuals even by those bishops still prepared to do so. Their opponents would want to defeat this and, by implication, establish for the first time that there was no absolute bar on ordaining homosexuals.

Although since 1987 numerous bishops have said they regarded practising homosexuals as disqualified, there is no policy binding on bishops who privately disagree.

Officially, the House of Bishops is "still considering" the report, and no decision has been made about publication.

The real problem the bishops face is that homosexuality is treated sympathetically throughout the report as an open and undecided question. Its underlying message on almost every page is that the Church must move gradually towards the acceptance of homosexual relationships.

MPs will be given a free vote on what the party considers is a conscience issue on the controversial proposal which, it is envisaged, would be part of more general legislation on sexual equality outlawing discrimination against lesbians and male homosexuals.

The Labour leadership has abandoned any attempt to overturn a call by last year's party conference for homosexuals to have sex lawfully at the same age as heterosexuals.

Senior party figures are expecting an onslaught from the Conservative leadership anxious to portray itself as the party of the family. Mr Kenneth Clarke, chairman of the Conservative Party, said the Labour plan was "appalling".

Labour hopes that the climate of opinion will have changed by the time the vote is taken. One source said: "We would hope any debate on the matter could be discussed in a calm and rational manner."

## Togetherness in the RAF for a married couple



In step: Mr and Mrs O'Neill head the column during a basic training exercise at RAF Luffenham and (below) having a meal together in their mess hall.

By Alan Hamilton



Hard on the heels of the Navy permitting women to go to sea, the Royal Air Force has demolished another bastion of tradition by signing up a husband and wife together, an act for which the RAF's recruiting officers can recall no precedent.

Mr Francis O'Neill and his wife, Ingrid, who have been married for six years, were visiting an RAF display on Plymouth Hoe last summer when they were seized with the notion of a complete change in their lifestyle.

They passed aptitude and medical tests and recently began six weeks basic training together at RAF Luffenham,

Leicestershire. Mr O'Neill, who confesses that his previous life as a machine operator had a certain dead-end quality, has opted to join the RAF Regiment. His wife, a former waitress, has ambitions to work in catering.

There is, however, no guarantee that they will always enjoy the same posting.

Married couples serving in the RAF have been common enough in the past but for years it has been deemed undesirable to have them serving on the same station. Now, however, sense and humanity prevails, and the RAF say that every effort is made to keep couples on the same station.

## Green Paper proposes shake-up in probation service

# Radical new training system planned for officers

By Robin Oakley, Political Editor

The Government is planning a big shake-up in the probation service, including a new management structure and putting the training of probation officers out to tender from universities and polytechnics.

The plans, to be announced in a Green Paper on Thursday, reflect the worries of ministers that judges will not co-operate in the switch to "punishment in the community" and change their sentencing habits until they are reassured about the quality of the probation service.

The Government's plans for a switch away from the incarceration of minor offenders were set out in

last week's criminal justice White Paper, which was generally supported by the Opposition parties.

Mr John Patten, Minister of State at the Home Office, who is responsible for criminal justice, wants to give the probation service the chance to move centre stage in the criminal justice system. The aim is to produce a new generation of probation officers who will be able to put forward crisp, well-argued reports to court.

To this end, options outlined in the Green Paper will include radical changes to training and management of the 7,000 probation officers, part of the 15,000 staff in the service which costs the taxpayer £241

million a year. Central training of probation officers was ended in the 1960s and control effectively handed over to universities and polytechnics.

However, studies commissioned by the Home Office from Dr David Coleman of Lincoln College, Oxford, and from Professor Martin Davies, of the University of East Anglia, have shown that probation officers are trained largely in wider social work issues with only 20 per cent of their studies related to criminal justice.

The Association of Chief Officers of Probation is said to feel that the present system is unsatisfactory. The Green Paper discusses with-

drawing government sponsorship from most or all the present courses, devising a national syllabus and putting out training to selected universities and polytechnics by competitive tender, aiming at three or four training centres around the country.

The number of probation officers has doubled over the past 10 years and the Home Office accepts that the intended switch away from prison sentences for many offenders will require significant further expansion. Funds have been agreed for an extra 300 this year.

Judges have been complaining that the Social Inquiry Reports produced for courts by the proba-

tion service as guidelines for the treatment of individual offenders are inadequate and take too long.

The Green Paper will propose a national standard both for quality and for the time they take to produce. It will also call for a shake-up designed to sharply improve the management of the service.

It will propose performance-related pay and short-term contracts for managers, with clear job evaluation and more precise targets.

Government action will follow swiftly after the Green Paper. Ministers hope to have the new management structure and training system up and running within two years.

## Rubbish is blamed on councils

Labour councils allow rubbish to foul up their streets, Mr David Hunt, Minister for Local Government, alleged yesterday.

Mr Hunt told the annual conference of Young Conservatives at Torquay, Devon, the Environmental Protection Bill before Parliament would ensure residents could take councils to court if they neglected their responsibilities.

### Marine clear

A Royal Marine based at Plymouth, Devon, who accidentally shot dead a comrade during a car search in Belfast last June, will not be prosecuted, the Royal Ulster Constabulary said yesterday.

### Hunt arrests

Captain Brian Fanshawe, master of Cottesmore Hunt, was one of 11 arrested in clashes with saboteurs at its kennels at Ashwell, near Oakham, Leicestershire, yesterday.

### Puma warning

Dr Frederick Turk, of Exeter University, who examined a claw found embedded in a tree, has confirmed that a wild animal, probably a puma, is stalking countryside near St Day, Redruth, Cornwall.

### Whale study

Scientists at the Natural History Museum, London, are investigating the death of a 4ft sperm whale which was washed ashore at Long Rock, near Penzance, Cornwall.

### Couple shot

The bodies of Mr Alan Pittaway and his wife, Susan, were found at Southgate, Hemsley, North Yorkshire, with single gunshot wounds to the head on Sunday night.

### Miner crushed

A miner was crushed to death at Shirebrook Colliery, near Mansfield, Nottinghamshire.

### Bond winners

Winners in the National Savings Premium Bonds weekly prize draw are: £100,000, bond number 2NB 706655, Surrey; £50,000, bond number 2FS 819481, Gloucestershire; £25,000, bond number 24WV 039026, Hertfordshire.

## PORTFOLIO

# Two share weekend winnings

Two winners shared Saturday's Portfolio Platinum prize of £4,400.

Mr David Rayner, of Southsea, Hampshire, and Mrs Margaret Rhodes, of Chelmsford, Essex, will each receive £2,200.

Mr Rayner, aged 34, said he had scarcely missed a day's Portfolio since the competition began.

"I always make a point of checking my numbers, but I never expected to win," Mr Rayner, an assistant accountant at a Ford showroom, said. "It was very exciting when I realized I had won. I still have not decided what the money will go on, though. The main contenders are a new Escort or an exotic holiday."



Mr David Rayner: New car or an exotic holiday.

## Breakthrough for male sex problems

AN important breakthrough in the treatment of male impotence has led to unprecedented success in recent clinically controlled trials.

Results of the new treatment on 1500 men has proved that the majority of sufferers can now be successfully treated. A spokesman for The London Diagnostic Centre, a leading independent clinic specialising in the field of male sexual problems said yesterday:

"Male impotence affects far more men than is realised and many of the cases previously have been helped to resume a normal sex life. Many men are already using this thoroughly tested and safe treatment in the privacy of their own home."

The fully qualified professional staff at the London Diagnostic Centre offer expert help and sympathetic counselling on impotence, premature ejaculation and most other psychogenic or organic disorders.

If you would like to know more and discover how you can lead a happy and more fulfilling sex life, please post the coupon on page 10 today.

## Barristers free to advertise services and practise from home in new code

By Frances Gibb, Legal Affairs Correspondent

Barristers will be free to advertise, open chambers where they like, practise on their own or from home without a clerk, under a new code of conduct approved by the Bar of England and Wales.

The code sweeps away a host of restrictions which determined the way barristers offered their services and brings their professional rules into line with modern-day requirements.

Barristers, for instance, are no longer to be barred from visiting solicitors' offices, a rule which obliged solicitors and clients to travel some times long distances to counsel's chambers for conferences.

Barristers will also be able to appear in court without a solicitor being present.

Mr David Latham, QC, chairman of the working party which spent seven months formulating the code, said the group's brief was "to remove all unnecessary restrictions on practice at the Bar and to produce a radically revised code appropriate for the 1990s".

The code has been approved by the Bar Council and comes into effect on March 31. Barristers will then be allowed to advertise, subject to conditions, one of them that the advertising must not "bring the legal profession

into disrepute". Advertising may include photographs, statements of rates and methods of charging and information about the nature of the barrister's services.

Old restrictions limited barristers to setting up chambers in or near the Inns of Court. A barrister will in future set up anywhere, provided his or her name is exhibited outside and the appropriate insurance premium against professional negligence claims is paid.

### Court clerks propose check on discrimination

A strategy for stamping out racial and sexual discrimination in magistrates' courts, including the monitoring of certain sentencing decisions, is proposed by the Justices' Clerks' Society today (Our Legal Affairs Correspondent writes).

The society, which represents the chief legal advisers to magistrates in England and Wales, says in a report, *Dealing with Discrimination*, that most justices' clerks and magistrates are convinced equality of treatment is given in their own courts. However it says: "It is still necessary for courts to accept that discrimination, particularly racial discrimination, may take place and to identify these areas where it may occur."

Magistrates and their advisers are subject to personal prejudices as other members of society, it says. "Discrimination exists and needs to be countered."

People from ethnic minorities lack confidence in all agencies dealing with criminal justice, the society says. Magistrates and their legal advisers need to know where the potential for discrimination might exist: this includes bail decisions, requests for social inquiry reports, adoption of non-custodial recommendations and use of custodial sentences. The report proposes the monitoring of magistrates' decisions to see if trends can be identified suggesting inequality of treatment.

Barristers qualified for less than three years must work in a chambers where there is at least one member who has been qualified for five years, or work from a central "library" with communal clerking and administrative back-up.

Under the code, detailed rules are replaced with clearly-stated principles, emphasizing the obligations of the advocates. Barristers must remain independent and accept

personal responsibility as sole practitioners.

They must act for any client, whether legally-aided or not; promote the proper interests of the client fearlessly, and without regard to personal consequences, and help the court in the administration of justice.

For the first time, some 5,000 barristers who are not in private practice but work in industry, commerce or the public sector, are brought into the main code. "This will ensure that there is proper control over all who practise advocacy as barristers," Mr Latham said.

The code will be supplemented by new professional standards, covering such matters as barristers' dress. There will be no strict rule obliging barristers to wear robes but Mr Latham said yesterday he did not envisage any change on this. "This is a matter of custom and practice and a question for the judges," he said.

The standards will guide barristers on how the code should be implemented in practice and will provide clients with a description of the service they can expect from their barrister.

Mr Peter Cresswell, QC, Bar chairman, said the new code "reflects the public's needs and expectations".

## Guinness trial may last for 6 months

By Paul Wilkinson

The Guinness trial is scheduled to start today, almost three years after the arrest of Mr Ernest Saunders, the company's former chairman.

The hearing before Mr Justice Henry Cooke at Southwark Crown Court, London, is the first of two arising from the brewing group's £2.5 billion take-over of the Distillers drinks group in 1986.

Both cases are expected to last up to six months. The charges facing the seven defendants have been split between two trials to simplify the evidence the jury will have to consider. The division is possible under procedures designed to make fraud inquiries and trials simpler and more effective.

The second trial is scheduled to begin in October, also at Southwark Crown Court. Mr Saunders is the only defendant to feature in both trials and fought unsuccessfully for reprieve of the first trial to go unpublished until the second was completed.

His contention that it would be prejudicial to his case in the second trial if evidence from the first was published before the second began was rejected. Mr Saunders appears today with three of the other defendants, Mr Gerald Roscoe, chairman of the Heron Corporation, Britain's second largest privately-owned group

of companies; Mr Anthony Parnes, a City stockbroker, and Mr Jack Lyons, a millionaire financier and art patron. They face a total of 24 charges under the Theft Act 1968, the Companies Act 1985 and the Prevention of Fraud (Investments) Act 1958.

The three other defendants with Mr Saunders in the second trial are Mr Roger Seelig, former corporate finance director of Morgan Grenfell, Guinness's merchant bankers; Lord Spens, former director of corporate finance at the Henry Ansbacher merchant bank, and Mr David Mayhew, senior corporate finance partner of Cazenove & Co, Guinness's stockbrokers.

The charges came after a Department of Trade and Industry investigation into the take-over battle in 1986, when Guinness beat a rival bid from the Argyll group.

They centre on an alleged illegal share support operation launched by Guinness in the closing stages of the take-over.

Court Two, where the trial will take place, has been stripped and rearranged at a cost of £15,000 to make room for the massed ranks of legal representatives for the defendants and the Serious Fraud Office, the prosecuting authority, the jurors, press and public and the huge quantities of documentation.

## Watch may fetch £200,000

A man who called at Sotheby's on a visit to London was told that his old wristwatch was worth up to £200,000.

Walking past the auction house he decided to ask for a free opinion on the item.

When the firm estimated the platinum moonphase calendar Patek Philippe example at between £150,000-£200,000, a spokeswoman said the man was "totally astonished".

Several gold examples are known but Sotheby's said the watch was one of only three platinum models known to exist. The watch will be the top lot in the firm's sale of clocks

and watches on February 22. Two days earlier, a celebrated collection of clocks, watches and wristwatches belonging to the late Colonel Raymond Quill, a former master of The Clockmakers Company and a Fellow of the British Chronological Institute, will be sold for an estimated £100,000 at Phillips in London.

Colonel Quill combined his hobby with an active military career in the Royal Marines.

He served throughout both world wars, won the DSO and became ADC to King George VI between 1948-50.

Big buyers were active during the weekend at the International Silver and Jewellery Fair in London. Young & Stephens sold a pair of ruby, diamond and sapphire bracelets by Cartier, 1930, for more than £100,000.

Koopman, another major dealer, found Continental silver popular. A Belgian casket from 1680 went for around £160,000. Donohoe sold a George II bullet teapot by Richard Bailey, London 1734, for around £5,000.

## Race brings Crufts to end of an era

By Ruth Gledhill

Twelve colts, German shepherd dogs and spaniels took part in the first flyball dog race in Britain on the last day of Crufts yesterday.

The dogs, schooled by the Thames Dog Training Club, spent the past three weeks in practice for the race.

The flyball contest took place in the main ring at Fairs Court, west London. Crufts moves to the National Exhibition Centre, Birmingham, for its centenary next year.

Best in group was a German shepherd named Lord of the Rings, owned by Mrs J. J. Jones, of 10, St. James's Place, London W1. Other winners included a spaniel named Lord of the Rings, owned by Mrs J. J. Jones, of 10, St. James's Place, London W1.

Champion of Crufts was a German shepherd named Lord of the Rings, owned by Mrs J. J. Jones, of 10, St. James's Place, London W1. Other winners included a spaniel named Lord of the Rings, owned by Mrs J. J. Jones, of 10, St. James's Place, London W1.

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## NEWS ROUNDUP

## £500,000 bill to re-run union poll

The Transport and General Workers' Union will have to pay up to £500,000 to re-run its ballot of 1.3 million members after allegations of vote rigging (Kevin Eason writes).

Officials said last night that initial estimates showed the decision by Mr Ron Todd, general secretary, to abandon the election for 39 members to the national executive committee could cost between £300,000 and £500,000.

Although the union can claim government funding for postal ballots, the TGWU will have to foot the bill for the aborted election because no results were announced.

The ballot was scrapped after an alleged breach of security was found in a batch of about 2,500 ballot papers which had been kept under lock and key at the union's headquarters at Transport House, central London.

The Electoral Reform Society became concerned last week when consecutively numbered ballot papers appeared with similar hand-written crosses. Mr Todd decided the national postal ballot, the first in its history, must be re-run because it must be seen to be fair and correct.

## Officer suspended

A fourth Surrey police officer has been suspended in connection with investigations by the Avon and Somerset police into allegations of malpractice over the conviction of the Guildford four (Stewart Tindler writes).

The suspension of Detective Sergeant Martin Wise brings to six the number of serving or former officers being investigated after the release of the four by the Court of Appeal last October. The suspension of Mr Wise suggests the present inquiry may continue for some time, delaying further the inquiry by Sir John May into the case.

## Helicopter fired on

Three soldiers were hurt when an Army Gazelle helicopter made a forced landing after it came under fire in Ulster yesterday (Jenny Knight writes). The soldiers' injuries, sustained in the landing, were not believed to be serious. The RUC said it was not known whether the helicopter had been hit in the incident near the village of Clogher, Co Tyrone. The area has been sealed off and an investigation is under way. In June 1988, a Lynx helicopter was brought down by IRA gunfire near Forkhill, South Armagh. The terrorists later said they had used machine guns.

## Right set for Tory win

Mr Andrew Tinsley, who narrowly broke decades of "left-wing" control of the Young Conservatives last year, is expected to be returned as chairman for a second term with an increased majority and so to consolidate the right-wing grip (Nicholas Wood writes). He is opposed by Mr Laurence Harris, Conservative candidate for Stoke-on-Trent North. The result will be declared on March 2. Four vice-chairmanships are also likely to fall to a right-wing takeover.

## Army explosive find

An inquiry began yesterday after a quantity of plastic explosive was found buried in the garden of an Army married quarter. An ammunition box containing the cache was dug up at the Guards' Depot in Pirbright, Surrey. Families were evacuated and the area was sealed off for nearly an hour while a bomb disposal squad removed it. The sticks of explosive were Army stock and similar to Semtex. It was thought it may have been there for about two years.

## Council loses 12 days

A 1990 calendar for the elderly by Dudley Council in the West Midlands has been found to be 12 days short (Jenny Knight writes). The calendar, produced by the Energy Efficiency Unit, omits the 22nd of each month. The council said: "It is very embarrassing, but sometimes the most obvious things go unnoticed until they smack you in the eye."

## Treasury battle

## Thatcher justifies defence spending

By Nicholas Wood, Political Correspondent

Mrs Margaret Thatcher has publicly supported Mr Tom King, Secretary of State for Defence, in his attempt to fend off Treasury demands for defence cuts.

Mr King is facing his toughest public spending round in years with the Treasury preparing to press for substantial cuts in the wake of the dramatically reduced military threat from the Warsaw Pact and the rapid pace of arms negotiations in Europe.

However, the Prime Minister has openly endorsed Mr King's counter argument that the Soviet bloc is far from being the only threat to British security.

Mrs Thatcher told the Young Conservatives conference in Torquay, Devon, on Saturday, that far more countries, including those in the Middle East, would have access to nuclear weapons in future.

"You don't know where the attack may come from," she said. "It takes such a long time to design and purchase your weaponry that if you ever make a mistake and haven't got them, that mistake could be fatal."

"Defence is a great deterrent to anyone who would attack you from whatever source that attack may come."

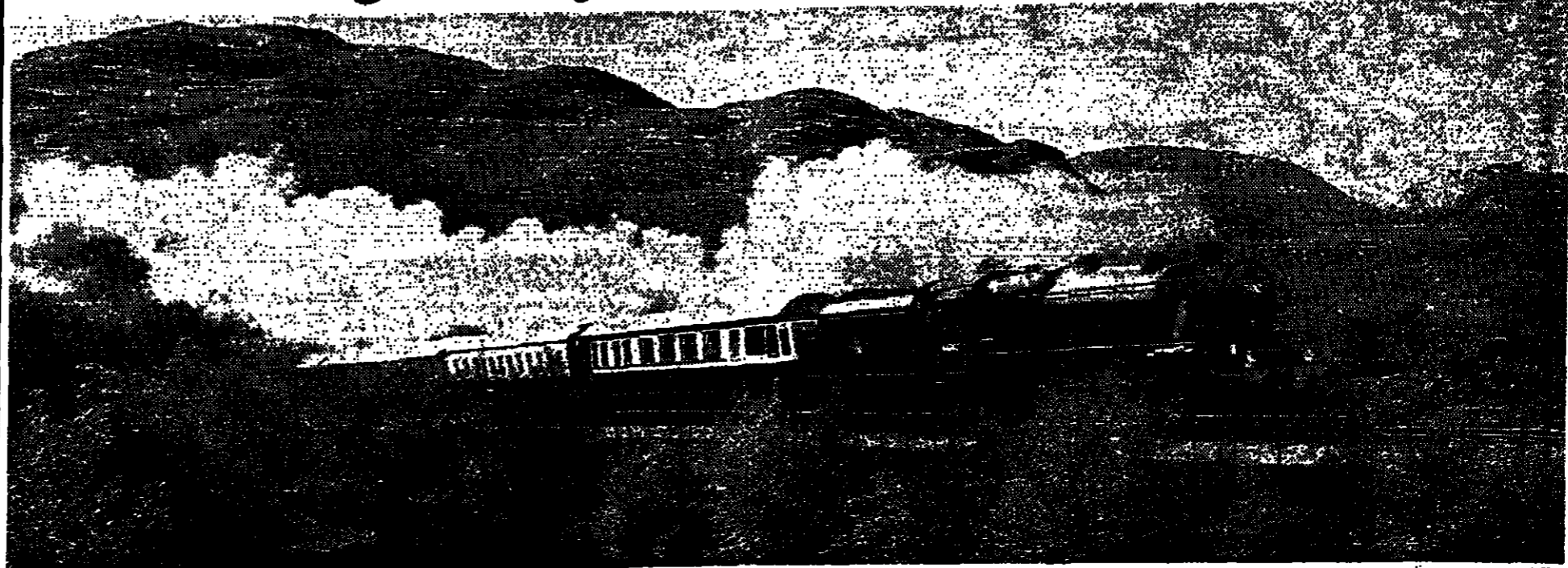
Mr King also fired a shot across the bows of Mr John Major, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by questioning whether the ending of the Cold War would make the rest of the world a safer place.

The "obscene" death threat against Mr Salman Rushdie was a "savage reminder" of the tensions that still existed, he said. "Will the surplus weapons that now exist in the



Mr King: Soviet bloc not the only threat to security.

## Historic Highlands journey for restored Queen of Scots



Full steam ahead: The Queen of Scots passes through Glen Fannan and, below, Mr Neil Tyhurst, director of engineering at the Cairnforth railway restoration centre in Lancashire where the carriages were restored to their former glory.

By Michael Dynes, Transport Correspondent

An almost forgotten era of luxury travel is revived when the refurbished Queen of Scots, one of the oldest trains in service, begins touring Scotland's mountains, glens and lochs in April.

A private train, restored, owned and operated by Mr Richard Hunter Edmondson, the Queen of Scots boasts historic features, including a 1890 dining car once used between London and Manchester by the cotton kings of the North, and later requisitioned during the First World War as the mobile headquarters for Field Marshal Earl Haig.

Equally impressive is the 1892 observation car, built for the London-Easton west coast line to Scotland, which contains a spacious panelling sitting room with large observation windows. A six-day

£2,990 round trip in the imperial state room, begins at Edinburgh, Waverley, and proceeds via Glasgow on a westerly journey along the shores of Loch Lomond and Loch Lomond, before ascending through the mountains to Crianlarich.

After passing Glen Loughy and Loch Awe, passengers stop at Oban before returning to Taynait for the night.

Travellers can then choose between a visit to Glenoe - traversing the spectacular Glenfannan viaduct - or stay at the picturesque harbour of Mallaig, before heading north to Stirling, Inverness and Keith, and embarking on the return journey to Edinburgh.

The cuisine too has a Scottish flavour, featuring the finest porridge, black pudding, salmon, trout and local desserts.

## Minister claims Labour's poll tax alternative is 'mess and a mix-up'

By Nicholas Wood and Nigel Williamson

More than 50,000 extra council staff could be needed to operate Labour's "roof tax", the Government insisted yesterday as ministers exploited what they regarded as a welcome own-goal.

Mr David Hunt, Minister of State for Local Government, claimed that the Opposition's policy alternative to the community charge was a "mess, muddle and mix-up".

His claim, at the annual conference of the Young Conservatives in Torquay, came after the Prime Minister had branded proposals from Mr Bryan Gould, Labour's environment spokesman, a "cloud cuckoo land scheme" and Mr Kenneth Baker, Chairman of the Conservative Party, had said they were a "con-trick".

But as the Conservatives launched a strong attack on Labour, Mr Neil Kinnock, said the party would not be hurried into revealing full details of its plan to introduce a property-based tax related to the ability to pay. "Fairness, efficiency, cheapness in administration, equity in operation" were more important than speed in formulating

Labour's proposals, he said. The Government should concentrate on finalizing the details of its own system.

"The Tory party spent five years in Opposition, ten years in government, three Green Papers, two Acts and five Secretaries of State trying to stick together an acceptable and workable local taxation system," he said.

Mr Kinnock added that it had become those who had made a spectacular mess of the poll tax to demand details of Labour's alternative system.

He accused the Government of a "deliberate fraud" in setting poll tax figures. They were based on "a mixture of legend, guess and fantasy". As he defended Labour's position, the party named 20 Conservative councils likely to levy poll tax bills between 30 to 60 per cent higher than Government estimates.

Speaking at Torquay, Mr Hunt said that Mr Gould, who had declined to elaborate on the plan at his party's annual local government conference in Cardiff on Friday, had committed yet another gaffe. "Many are the Labour Party

flagship policies that have been sunk by an incautious Gould quote holding them below the waterline," he said.

Mr Hunt said that the proposal for a property tax related to ability to pay was a "twin tax torture".

The British people would resent the Inland Revenue

Councils where Labour claims the community charge will be higher than Government estimates:

Local Council	Govt estimate	Labour estimate	Overshoot (%)
Mole Valley (Ind/C)	£302	£392	29.8
Wokingham (C)	£284	£454	59.8
Bracknell (C)	£276	£375	35.8
Windsor & Maidenhead (C)	£301	£488	62.1
Newbury (C)	£243	£402	65.4
Epsom and Ewell (Ind)	£367	£450	22.6
Reigate & Banstead (C)	£303	£460	51.8
Croydon (C)	£222	£293	32.0
Rockford (C)	£312	£383	22.7
Elmbridge (C)	£375	£450	20.0
Guildford (C)	£281	£412	46.6
Runnymede (C)	£229	£330	30.6
Spelthorne (C)	£265	£380	43.3
Surrey Heath (C)	£306	£401	31.0
Tandridge (C)	£296	£375	26.6
Waverley (C)	£305	£411	34.7
Woking (C)	£339	£460	35.6
Plymouth (C)	£226	£328	45.1
Braintree (C)	£266	£343	28.9
Rushmoor (C)	£213	£340	59.6
Basingstoke (C)	£202	£322	59.4

having to give details of their income and capital to town halls - if that was what Labour intended. Alternatively, if taxes were to be assessed locally, 55,000 extra administrators would be required in council offices.

Mr Hunt attacked Labour's "cynicism" in keeping the

details of its proposals under wraps until after the May council elections.

Mr Thatcher, also speaking at the Torquay conference, betrayed her impatience with

Government by stirring memories of English nationalism at the weekend.

Pointing out that local government in Scotland and Wales receives a greater proportion of its money from central funds than the rest of the United Kingdom, Mrs Thatcher added: "We English, who are marvellous people, are really very generous to Scotland. We English are the most underestimated people in the UK."

Almost 2,000 people attended an anti-poll tax demonstration yesterday in the Tory stronghold of Maidenhead, Berkshire.

Mr Graham Roberts, a founder of the Maidenhead Anti Poll Tax Campaign, urged the crowd to begin "Berkshire's Peasant Revolt" against the new charge, at present set at approximately £500 per person, one of the highest levels in the country. The crowd was urged to fill in poll tax forms in Mickey Mouse fashion.

These performance targets are in addition to British Rail's obligation to eliminate the current £141 million subsidy for Network SouthEast by 1993, and to reduce the annual £400 million subsidy for provincial services by £55 million within five years.

British Rail is undergoing a big investment programme which is set to rise from £674 million in the current financial year, to around £1,186 million by 1993. It includes completing electrification of the east coast mainline between London and Edinburgh.

Over the next three years, 90 per cent of InterCity trains must run within 10 minutes of schedule. 92 per cent of Network SouthEast services within five minutes of schedule,

and 88 per cent of peak services must run on time. The targets also require British Rail to ensure no more than 4.5 per cent of services are cancelled, and that all carriage interiors are cleaned daily.

Moreover, ticket queuing times should be no longer than five minutes in peak periods, three minutes in off-peak periods, and 95 per cent of train service enquiries must be answered within 30 seconds.

Five categories will be used as the yardstick by which British Rail's performance is monitored: punctuality, reliability, cleanliness, ticket queuing times and the promptness with which train service enquiries are answered. Failure to meet the targets will have to be explained to Mr Parkinson.

The Public Records Office copy of the Act was sent to Australia in 1988 for its bicentennial celebrations when millions of Australians queued to see it on display at Parliament House, Canberra. It was returned to Britain at the beginning of last year.

Mr Bob Hawke, the Australian Prime Minister, is understood to have raised the question of its gift or permanent loan to Australia with

three big parties as well as the Ulster Unionists and Welsh and Scottish Nationalists.

Mr Morris said it was "an appropriate date" for the introduction of the Bill since it coincided with the centenary of the Australian federation conference in February 1890 which led to the federation of the six Australian colonies.

The second reading of the Bill is due on March 2. If it eventually receives Royal Assent, the Lord Chancellor will need further sanction from both Houses before releasing the Public Record Office's copy.

## TOMORROW

## Lawson speaks



What does Nigel Lawson say now about money and MPs, monetary union and the new Europe - and Mrs Thatcher? Tomorrow in *The Times* he talks to Barbara Amiel about his past, and future, in politics.

## Threat to religion on ITV

By John Lewis

Hard-won concessions to force the new commercial television franchise holders to include religious programmes in their schedules in 1993 are at risk.

A confrontation is threatened by a late demand by some Tory backbenchers and peers that the words "Christian" or "mainly Christian" should replace "religious" in an amendment to the Broadcasting Bill.

Backbenchers who have been active in pressing for a specific commitment to carry religious broadcasting are to meet bishops and other representatives of the Christian churches today to agree an amendment to put formally to Mr David Mellor, a Minister of State at the Home Office.

Mr Mellor has already told the Broadcasting Bill Committee he is prepared to look sympathetically at changes requiring the companies to find space for religious and children's programmes.

Everything was pointing to conciliation on the committee, with Mr Mellor and Mr Robin Corbett, Opposition home affairs spokesman, displaying a remarkable degree of cooperation. The demand for the change in wording could alter this.

Miss Emma Nicholson, one of the Conservative MPs who has been pushing for an agreement with the churches, said: "I could not support amendments which wrote Christianity into the Bill to the exclusion of other religions."

## An overnight success after 100 years in the industry

Duncan LeFevre, Managing Director of Stannah Lifts Ltd, with his highly skilled team of managers and workers have taken just five years to become what they believe to be market leaders in hydraulic passenger lift-holding, been market leaders for both service lifts and stairlifts for some time.

Explains Duncan, "Many of our orders are placed via specifiers and we have found that many potential clients who are not

architects may have heard of our stairlifts but have not known that we are one of the major forces in the lift industry."

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Personal service with top quality is where they come in. Duncan's team can be contacted at Stannah Lifts Ltd on (0264) 332765 Dept. KG/T.

## MP seeks to allow Australia to secure its 'Magna Carta'

By Nigel Williamson  
Political Staff

A Bill to give Australia the historic document which established the former colony's nationhood will be introduced in the Commons today.

The Bill will seek to secure for Australia one of the two original copies of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, described by Mr Alf Morris, Labour MP for Manchester, Wythenshawe, its sponsor, as "the Australian equivalent of the Magna Carta".

Mr Morris, who is the chairman

of the Anzac group of MPs and peers at Westminster, said yesterday: "It is the legal and constitutional embodiment of Australian nationhood. It is as much an Australian document as a British one and it is only right that one copy at least should rest in the permanent possession of the Australian nation."

Both copies of the original document are at present held by law in Britain. One is kept in Parliament as part of the record of its proceedings. The other is held by the Public Records Office, which is restricted by law from making a permanent

loan or gift outside Britain. Mr Morris's Bill seeks to amend the Public Record Act to remove that restriction and allow the document to stay permanently in Australia.

The Public Records Office copy of the Act was sent to Australia in 1988 for its bicentennial celebrations when millions of Australians queued to see it on display at Parliament House, Canberra. It was returned to Britain at the beginning of last year.

Mr Bob Hawke, the Australian Prime Minister, is understood to have raised the question of its gift or permanent loan to Australia with

three big parties as well as the Ulster Unionists and Welsh and Scottish Nationalists.

Mr Morris said it was "an appropriate date" for the introduction of the Bill since it coincided with the centenary of the Australian federation conference in February 1890 which led to the federation of the six Australian colonies.

The second reading of the Bill is due on March 2. If it eventually receives Royal Assent, the Lord Chancellor will need further sanction from both Houses before releasing the Public Record Office's copy.

The other signatories to the Bill include Sir Bernard Braine, Father of the House, Mr Denis Healey, Sir David Steel, the former Liberal leader, and other MPs from the

Mrs Margaret Thatcher when he visited London last June. She is understood to have told him that, although the Government was in "sympathy", the law made it impossible to meet the request.

Mr Morris promised Mr Hawke that he would attempt to find a way to allow the document to be returned permanently to Australia. His Bill is the outcome of that promise.

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three big parties as well as the Ulster Unionists and Welsh and Scottish Nationalists.

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Business

# Tory ex-minister says 'give teachers a big pay increase'

By Douglas Broom, Education Reporter

A former Conservative Education minister yesterday urged the Government to stop treating teachers like "blue-collar" workers and to give them a big pay rise to rebuild their "shattered morale".

Sir Rhodes Boyson, ex-headmaster, one-time Minister of State for Education and MP for Brent North, said ministers must recognize that teachers had "fallen drastically behind in the pay league".

Addressing members of the Campaign for Real Education at Westminster, Sir Rhodes said that 16 years ago "when I left headship, teachers received 30 per cent more than the British white-collar average wage. The gap has now narrowed to only 5 per cent."

He said that the recently announced 8.3 per cent two-stage rise in teaching salaries would "go a little way" towards repairing morale, but urged the Government to do

more. Teachers pay had decreased in real terms and with the "increased bureaucratic workload" brought about by Government education reforms, it was no wonder that there were severe teacher shortages.

He also criticized conditions of service introduced in 1987 which laid down hours of work and duties for the first time. Sir Rhodes said "enforcement of a yearly 1,265-hour blue-collar contract for all teachers" had added to low morale.

The low status of teachers was largely to blame for the fact that there would not be enough specialist teachers to implement the National Curriculum. Shortages of teachers qualified in subjects like foreign languages, science and technology would make the curriculum "unworkable".

Sir Rhodes said: "Teachers with little or no specialist qualifications in the sciences

and languages will be drafted in to teach these subjects. It will perpetuate a system where pupils in Japan and West Germany are two to three years ahead of pupils in Britain by the age of 14."

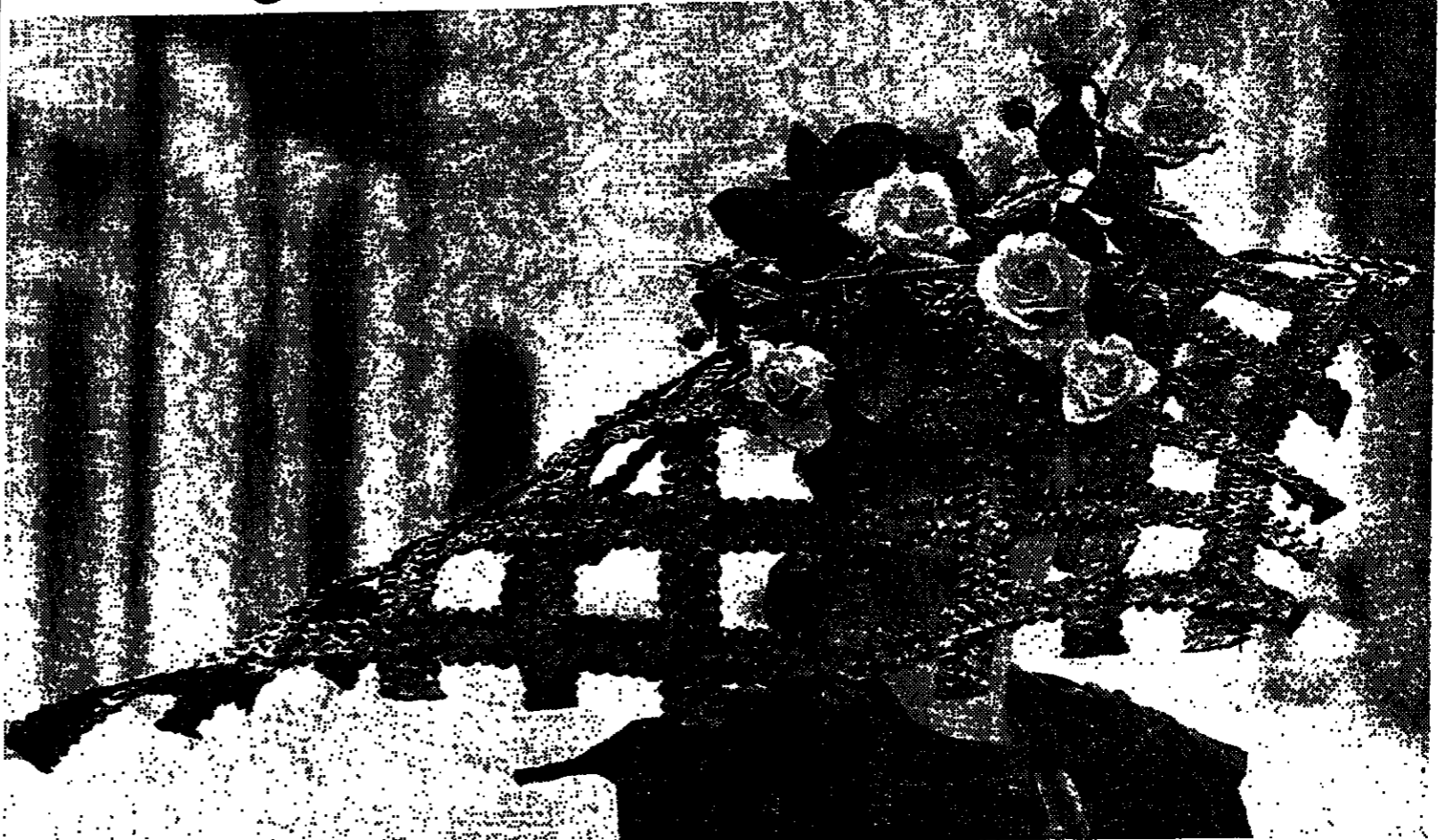
At the same conference, Mr Ray Honeyford, the former Bradford headmaster who resigned over multi-cultural education policies, described the BBC as "a propaganda mouthpiece for the anti-racist lobby".

He said it focussed obsession on racism. "It always concentrates on the negative aspects," Mr Honeyford said the BBC relied on the notion of guilt to change people's attitudes. "That's not the right approach."

The BBC said later: "The BBC does not act as a mouthpiece for any lobby. It is bound by the charter to impartiality and this is ensured through our producers' guidelines."

## Viewing the world through a rose-topped hat

DES JENSEN



A model gazes through straw lattice-work crowned with pink artificial roses at the launch yesterday of London Couture Week. The hat, Andromeda, is one of a selection designed by Phillip Treacey, a Royal College of Art student, to complement Victor Edelstein's new collection.

## MacGregor rejects academics' student loan plan

Proposals that the universities should take over the student loans scheme were yesterday rejected by the Government (Our Education Reporter writes).

Mr John MacGregor, Secretary of State for Education and Science, said the cost of administering the plan proposed by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals on Friday could be "hundreds of millions of pounds".

In a letter to Sir Edward Parkes, chairman of the committee, Mr MacGregor said the proposal to collect loan debts through the national

insurance system would place intolerable burdens on employers.

The decision to reject the proposals coincided with the publication of a study by academics at Gothenburg University which found that the Swedish loans system acted as a deterrent to fewer than one in ten sixth-formers considering a degree course.

The findings were welcomed by the Department of Education and Science which said they refuted charges that the loans scheme would hinder attempts to increase student numbers.

Under plans for the UK, students

will be eligible to borrow up to £420 a year from September to top-up the £2,265 annual student grant. The Glasgow-based Student Loans Company has been set up by the Government to run the scheme. It will be funded by the Treasury and graduates will repay by monthly standing order to the Loans Company once they earn at least £10,000 a year.

However, the vice-chancellors believe that the means-tested grant should be replaced with a single payment to all students, the greater part of which should be a loan. They

want to see the national insurance system used to recover loan debts and offered to run such a scheme.

Mr MacGregor said he had "looked carefully at the technicalities" and was convinced that there were "strong arguments" for rejecting the plan.

He said that adding student loan repayments to the national insurance system would be complex and costly, and that introducing separate contribution rates for graduates would increase the risk of errors by employers. In addition, the costs to industry would be enormous, he said.

## Yard considering armed patrols

By Stewart Tendler  
Crime Correspondent

The setting up of 24-hour mobile armed patrols in London to provide quick response to incidents involving guns is being debated by senior Scotland Yard officers.

The patrols, which are already used by some provincial forces, is proposed in an internal working party report on firearms policy.

The patrols would solve the problem of getting police

marksmen to an incident swiftly. They would be formed from a squad of at least 50 officers and cover each of London's eight police areas.

The system could follow the practice in other forces where weapons are kept in secure lockers in patrol cars and can be used only on the authority of a senior officer.

Nottinghamshire police has used the system for 10 years and officers have rarely had to use guns. London would be an

obvious choice for the patrols given the large number of armed robberies. However, opponents may be concerned about the high cost and political repercussions.

The working party has also suggested reducing the number of officers in London authorized to use guns. Scotland Yard has already cut the number of authorized firearms users to under 3,000 as part of a policy of improving training by reducing numbers.

### Whitehall Brief

## Model choice for age of enterprise

It isn't often that a civil servant has a chance to make a substantial capital gain in direct fulfilment of ministerial edict.

Such a prospect lies on Mr Patrick Brown's horizon. The deputy secretary in the Department of the Environment has just become chief executive of the reconstructed Property Services Agency (PSA) with a brief to take it private, preferably through a management buy-out.

With MBOs regularly netting senior staff substantial sums, Mr Brown, aged 49, who has committed himself to leaving the Civil Service along with the PSA, stands to make serious money.

You could say the City of London owes him some. Since the early 1980s, Mr Brown has had a guiding hand in a sequence of transactions, out of which brokers have made big profits.

During his time at the Department of Transport, he eased the sale to its employees of the National Freight Corporation, oversaw the outright sale of Associated British Ports and the National Bus Company, as well as the deregulation of municipal bus services, less of a privatization than a grand expansion of the territory in which a kind of private market operates.

However, Mr Brown's *tour de force* was the sale last November of the water supply and sewerage industry. Promoted into the Department of Environment in 1988, he picked up a hot and - it was being widely said - impossible policy.

It was not, of course, Mr Brown's own. He professes the Whitehall creed: a civil servant's views are irrelevant to his performance; his job is to carry out ministerial commands. In principle, he could, if asked by a minister of a different colouring, draw up legislation and carry through the rationalization of water and sewerage.

None the less, Mr Brown comes across as more than a superior kind of technician. It is difficult not to conclude that he must have invested a little of himself in the hectic process of making water saleable.

However strongly backed by the Prime Minister, water privatization had still to be given a practicable timetable. Someone had to bully into line recalcitrant water authority chairmen who did not see so clearly then, as they do now, what was in it for them.

It is never clear in a bureaucracy how much rests on the shoulders of a single official: suffice to say that the fact that water shares were successfully disposed off within the tight timetable set in 1988 was a considerable achievement for Mr Brown's project team.

And, we have it on ministerial authority, for him personally. On the strength of his performance on water, he has been asked to pluck another hot chestnut out of the fire and, blowing hard, run with it himself into the private sector.

The PSA has been partially dismantled. Its role as landlord to Whitehall is being absorbed back into the Department of Environment. What Mr Brown has to prepare for sale by 1992 are the PSA divisions offering specialist property management and design services, still a big business proposition with about 20,000 staff but one, like other consultancies, whose strength is little more than the sum of its skilled and experienced staff.

The responsible minister, Mr Christopher Chope, Under Secretary of State, openly acknowledges that dangling the possible financial rewards of an MBO is one way staff might be persuaded to say on for the rocky transition out of civil service security.

Since 1980, Mr Brown has spent most of his time "deconstructing" the state. By that token, he has been a model civil servant for a free enterprise decade, an antipode of those officials who in the 1940s drew up grand plans to bring activity into public ownership and control. When (and if) he makes his first million, his career will appear even more markedly to break with the post-war Whitehall statist tradition.

David Walker

## Labour move to protect patients dropped by GP

A Labour Party campaign to protect patients who may have been dropped from their GP's list was launched yesterday (Nick Nuttall writes).

It is believed that some family doctors are removing patients who are deemed "un-economic" in preparation for the Government's new GP employment contract, which comes into force in April.

The Labour Party claims the elderly, the chronically ill and other vulnerable groups needing long term and costly care are at risk from the changes which require doctors

to manage their budgets. Under the campaign, family practitioner committees are being asked to monitor the number of patients being taken off GP lists.

The British Medical Association said it had no evidence that economic forces were causing doctors to drop patients. Ms Harriet Harman, shadow health minister, said: "Changes in the GP contract are apparently leading some GPs to remove patients from their lists for financial reasons. The most vulnerable seem to be the worst hit."

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## Republicans pursue chance to redraw the electoral map

From Martin Fletcher, Washington

This year's battle between Republicans and Democrats for all 435 seats in the US House of Representatives, 34 Senate seats, 36 governorships and most state legislatures will set the shape of politics in the United States into the next century.

The 1990 census will show that in the past decade 10 million people have moved from the North-East and Mid-West "rust belt" to the Southern and Western "sun belt".

Some 18 seats in the House of Representatives will then be "reapportioned" — switched from shrinking to growing states. Congressional voting districts in every affected state will need redrawing, with a potentially huge shift in political advantage.

"Redistricting" is controlled by the party which controls the state legislatures, and no sense of fair play applies. The majority party will redraw traditional boundaries to benefit itself.

In theory, as the migration has been away from Democratic industrial heartlands, the Republicans should gain; but not in practice, because

the Democrats control 29 state legislatures outright to the Republicans' eight.

"The gerrymander overcame all," said Mr Tom Hofeller, the director of redistricting for the Republican National Congressional Committee. "What demographics give, legislatures can take away in the dead of night."

In a handful of states the Republicans can hope to cap-

### State of the Parties

House of Reps	Dem	Rep	Dem-Maj
Senate	55	45	10
Governors	29	21	—

Of these governorships being contested this year, the Democrats hold 20 and the Republicans 10.

Three vacancies

ture one of the two legislative houses. But what they really must do is hold on to and win state governorships, because governors alone can veto redistricting plans.

Easily the most important gubernatorial elections will be in California, Texas and Florida where Democrats control the legislatures. California

stands to gain six extra congressional seats, Texas four and Florida three. Between them they will probably account for 109 representatives. The two parties plan to spend \$100 million (£58 million) on these three gubernatorial contests alone.

Other bloody battles can be expected in the big states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Illinois and Michigan, all of which will lose congressional seats.

Republicans may monopolize the White House, but they are desperate to end the Democratic Party's unbroken 36-year grip on the House of Representatives.

They see no hope of doing that through the congressional elections; free mass mailings and their enhanced ability to attract campaign contributions mean that 98 per cent of incumbent congressmen were re-elected in 1986 and 1988.

It is in redistricting that the Republicans see both an opportunity for a breakthrough in the 1992 congressional elections — and danger if they allow themselves to be gerrymandered.

## Flags out for a royal visit to Queenstown



Meeting the younger generation: The Queen greeting a crowd of children, some waving makeshift New Zealand flags, during the royal couple's visit to the South Island city of Queenstown on Saturday. The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh spent much of the day viewing some of the region's tourist attractions.

## US Perrier scare shatters another yuppiedom fad

From Charles Bremner, New York

For many Americans, the Wall Street crash of 1987 sounded the death knell of the yuppie era. It may have, but it was not until this weekend that the *coup de grâce* was delivered.

That blow came when the Perrier company announced the discovery of toxic benzene in its perfect water and pulled every bottle off the American market.

"What is there left to believe in?" asked Miss Diane Garvey, a Manhattan estate agent as she stood in a supermarket grappling with the prospect of life without the little green bottle that has been raised to the status of icon for the brand-mad, health-conscious young and affluent Americans.

Though Perrier says it will sell again in America in about two months, opinion leaders across the country wondered if things would ever be the same.

In Washington, Senator Al Gore, a presidential contender and a model of the baby-boom achiever, said: "Personally, I am not going to be satisfied until thousands of rats have consumed millions of bottles of Perrier and survived."

Mr John Buckley, a Republican Party consultant, told *The New York Times* that he believed "an entire class of people have just had their weekends ruined".

Miss Wendy Wasserstein, a noted New York playwright, exclaimed: "This is terrible! It's the end of an era. We'll all have to go back to scotch." Others suggested Perrier had fallen victim to the US obsession with the chemical content of food and drink.

The Food and Drug Administration detected a trace of about 15 parts of the cancer-causing solvent per billion in samples it tested. The level was three times the US legal maximum, but the FDA said that drinking a pint a day of Perrier posed no appreciable risk. It would increase a consumer's lifetime risk of cancer by about one in a million.

No European standards are so stringent and Perrier said there were no plans to halt

sales there. The Perrier news arrived in the middle of growing public confusion about the contents of the American diet. Only last week, Americans heard that oat bran, which had been adopted by the baby-boom generation as a miracle cure for all ills, may not ward off all the fatal diseases people believed.

Even Perrier and other "designer waters" have lately come under fire for being too pure. Their filtration is said to remove some beneficial minerals. On Saturday, the Government ordered drink-makers to print a large health warning on all bottles of wines, spirits and beer.

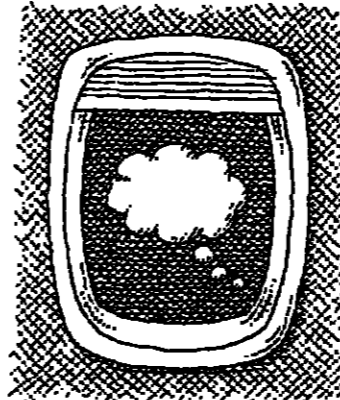
This will say: "According to the Surgeon-General, women should not drink alcoholic beverages during pregnancy because of the risk of birth defects. Consumption of alcoholic beverages impairs your ability to drive a car or operate machinery, and may cause health problems."

The Perrier company, which established an emergency freephone service for anxious customers, said on Saturday it believed the contamination was not deliberate and had occurred not at the springs but somewhere in the bottling and shipping process. It recalled some 72 million bottles from US shops and restaurants, where customers pay up to £3 for a glass of the liquid. Mr Ronald Davis, chief of the Perrier Group of America, said: "We are in the business of selling purity. We think that this decision is right because we think in the long run our consumers will come back."

While Perrier registered some spectacular results in Britain and Europe in the 1980s, it was in America that the company's success became a marketing phenomenon. At a time that consuming alcohol acquired the cachet of anti-social behaviour, Perrier persuaded millions of Americans that its H<sub>2</sub>O was the only chic alternative.

Though still the symbol of fashionable health, the drink now has competition from other water trend-setters.

## Whoever heard of a 'plane of thought'?



Did Alan Bennett think up his latest opening gambit during an oxygen mask demonstration?

Have you ever put in order the points of your speech as they point you to diametrically opposed check-in desks?

Or run through the minutes of your meeting as you pelt hell for leather to the gate?

Does your brain relax and unwind as, during turbulence, the stewardess adjusts your seat to the bolt upright position?

Neatly packaged into meagre compartments, your time ends up like the lunch tray.

Make time to think through one new strategy though. How to beat the other hundred or so passengers to the taxi queue will be of greatest importance.

Is it surprising that President Ford was prone to falling down plane steps when the business of flying can be so shattering?

A longer term strategy of taking a more down to earth form of travel would give you time to yourself. You do what you want with that time, not what we want.

If you fancy a little sustenance, choose a light snack or a first class meal served by a steward.

Take a wander along the corridor. (You won't find yourself hemmed in by the drinks trolley.)

You'll have time to think things through, room to breathe and a telephone on hand to wish your sister Daphne a happy birthday.

When you come to disembark, you'll be ready to do battle.

Starved of interruptions and fortified by an excellent meal you'll feel travelling by train is really food for thought.

INTERCITY

## French right puts disunity on display

From Susan MacDonald, Paris

In-fighting at the mass rally yesterday of M Jacques Chirac's Rassemblement pour la République (RPR) party highlights the French right's continuing disintegration.

Apart from M Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front, which still struts the political stage, by pushing his anti-immigration and anti-Semitic themes, the traditional right-wing parties have not found a niche since the Socialists won the 1988 elections.

The performance yesterday by 25,000 delegates from all over France, who turned up over the Gaulist RPR's equivalent of the Conservative Party conference, showed that even this most famous of right-wing parties seems like a ship without a rudder.

Instead of the usual "hail fellow well met" atmosphere, this year's gathering was a cacophony of cheering and

whistling, booing and hissing. Two previous stalwarts of M Chirac, a former Prime Minister — M Charles Pasqua, the former hardline Interior Minister, M Philippe Seguin, the former Social Services Minister — were greeted with jeers and a shower of paper and plastic cups as they entered the packed hall.

This ill-assorted couple, who have not seen eye to eye before, announced last month that M Chirac and the party had lost all fire and direction since the election defeats of 1988 and it was their mission to restore them. M Chirac responded by threatening to resign if he did not gain the full support of the congress.

The right-wing parties know they must have unity to be taken seriously. An important obstacle is that each party leader believes he alone is the man to achieve it.

## CHANGING FACE OF EUROPE

# Triumphant Kohl wins Gorbachov approval for unity

From Ian Murray, Bonn

A proud and happy Herr Helmut Kohl, the West German Chancellor, flew home from Moscow yesterday with what he said was President Gorbachov's approval for German reunification in his pocket. "The way is now clear for the reunification of the two German states," he said.

The Soviet leader had told him that the solution of the German question was up to the Germans themselves, raising no obstacles to reunification that Herr Kohl could see.

The two German governments would enter negotiations as soon as possible after the March 18 elections in East Germany, the Chancellor told a radio interviewer, adding that political and economic reunification could now proceed "hand in hand".

He said he was ready to make a start on the question tomorrow when Herr Hans Modrow, the transitional East German Prime Minister, begins a two-day visit to Bonn. The opposition Social Democrat leader, Herr Hans-Jochen Vogel, also said at the weekend that he expected quick unity. He told a television interviewer that the questions of currency, economic, environmental, transport and social policies could all rapidly be settled after March 18.

At the same time, he said, nothing really new had resulted from Herr Kohl's Moscow visit, and he described the Chancellor's comments as "not free from self-overestimation". Reunification is now a certain vote-winner, and Herr Vogel was clearly very unhappy about the way Herr Kohl was capitalizing on his Moscow trip.

The Chancellor means to make the most of his meeting with Herr Modrow to prepare the way for early reunification, even though it is unlikely that the communist Prime Minister will still be in office after the elections.

Quick economic and currency union, Herr Kohl said, would be the main topic of the meeting. Everything had to be done to stop the continuing haemorrhage of people from East Germany and to persuade many of those who had

already come to the West to return. He believed that it was in this context that what he is calling "the signal from Moscow" should be understood. Seeking to quieten any fears about the impact of a united Germany on the world, he said he expected that the economic awakening of East Germany would in the end provide a thrust forward for the whole of Europe.

Despite his obvious eagerness to move as quickly as possible to unity, the Chancellor has yet again emphasized that the whole process will be in collaboration with the three Western allies, who would be closely involved in resolving the questions of

**Late release of poll on leader's support**  
Moscow (Reuters) — President Gorbachov was enjoying a 43 per cent popularity rating last August but only 22 per cent of Soviet citizens completely trusted the Communist Party, according to a nationwide poll only published yesterday, with no explanation, by the reform *Ogonyok* magazine. The weekend, party leaders in the Urals city of Ufa and the party boss in the Russian city of Kaluga resigned.

Nato membership and the security worries of the Soviet Union.

He expected that there would need to be a conference between the two Germanies and the four victorious Second World War powers which would study the consequences of unity for the defence alliances and the structure of Europe.

This would pave the way for the subject to be considered by a summit of the 35 nations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which is now likely to be convened later this year.

Herr Walter Momper, the Social Democrat Mayor of West Berlin, also yesterday emphasized the importance of involving the four powers in an early conference on the subject of unity.

The future of Berlin, still

governed by the wartime allies, is one of the more complex problems which will need to be negotiated.

Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, who wants the security and co-operation summit to meet in Berlin, flew straight from Moscow to Ottawa to take part in the "Open Skies" meeting with other foreign ministers of the Atlantic Alliance. He is to report on the talks with President Gorbachov and try to reassure everyone that German unity threatens nobody but will be a steady factor in the present disorder of Eastern Europe.

Reports of the imminent collapse of the present East German economy gave Herr Kohl the arguments he wanted for rapidly pushing ahead with reunification.

He told Mr Gorbachov that East Germany was on the verge of bankruptcy and anarchy, and that this was a much likelier danger to Soviet security than any imagined threat from a newly united Germany which was committed to peace.

Herr Kohl said yesterday that the economic question had been at the centre of his six hours of talks with the Soviet leader and that the question of neutrality was scarcely raised.

In a reference to the post-war adage that "War must never again come from German soil", he said: "Peace must come from German soil. That is the motto for the future."

Herr Kohl has been careful to give no timescale for reunification, although he himself has been responsible for speeding up the process dramatically over the past week by calling for rapid currency union and allowing one of his closest aides to tell the press that East Germany was on the verge of collapse.

Herr Theo Waigel, the Finance Minister and leader of the Christian Social Union, said at the weekend that he could see no reason why the Bundesstag elections, scheduled for December, should not be held throughout a united Germany.

## Baker expresses his doubts in Bucharest



Mr James Baker, the US Secretary of State, left, using both his hands to make his position clear, despite the efforts of a translator, centre, to President Iliescu at their meeting in Bucharest yesterday. American scepticism about the pace of Romanian progress towards democracy overshadowed the meeting.

### Moscow agreement on change in Germany

## Unity near as Kremlin waives objections

From Mary Dejevsky, Moscow

The prospect of East and West Germany uniting within the year rose at the weekend, when Herr Helmut Kohl, the West German Chancellor, said he had got an historic assurance from President Gorbachov that Moscow would not impede reunification.

In a prepared statement read to journalists on Saturday, Herr Kohl said: "This evening I have a unique message to convey to all Germans. General Secretary Gorbachov and I are agreed that it is the inalienable right of the German people to decide whether they want to live together in one state."

"General Secretary Gorbachov has told me unmistakably the Soviet Union will renounce the decision of Germans to live in one state, and that it is a matter for the Germans to determine the time and manner of unification."

The thrust of Chancellor Kohl's statement was confirmed by the official Soviet

news agency Tass.

It quoted Mr Gorbachov as confirming, and Chancellor Kohl as agreeing, that "between the USSR, the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) and the GDR (German Democratic Republic) there is no disagreement on the fact that the question of the unity of the German nations should be decided by the Germans themselves, and that they themselves should choose in what state forms, in what time-scale, at what pace and on what conditions, that unity should be effected."

The two accounts differed in their sequence of priorities — the Soviet account began with the need for German reunification to take place within the framework of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act — the accord on European security and co-operation signed by the Soviet Union, the United States, Canada and all European countries except Albania — with full consideration for

the security interests of third parties. Chancellor Kohl's statement, however, put these considerations second. But the meaning was unambiguous. Moscow had not only dropped all its objections to

Moscow (Reuters) — The West German mark would roll like a tank over the East German economy if the two states merged their currencies, *Pravda* said yesterday while acknowledging the ailing economy badly needed treatment. The Soviet party daily said that the Deutschmark would crush East German economic sovereignty, leaving behind mass joblessness and bankrupt enterprises.

unification, but it had abandoned any attempt to set conditions beyond the vague need to take the interests of other states into account.

As late as the morning of the Gorbachov-Kohl meeting, Mr

Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet Foreign Minister, was talking of the need for a neutral, united Germany and had insisted that West Germany should agree not to demand the return of any territory that was part of the Third Reich in 1937. It had been expected that Moscow would require a declaration to this effect.

Herr Kohl denied, however, that any guarantee had been sought or given. He said that a decision could be taken only after East Germany had a freely elected Parliament. Assuming that the West German leadership judges the election, due on March 19, to be free, the prospect would be open for pan-German elections to be held this year.

One of Moscow's concerns is believed to be the likely economic losses of downgrading the Soviet-East German economic relationship. Cap. Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West German Foreign Min-

ister, however, assured Moscow that its interests would be taken into account in talks on Saturday.

At talks with Mr James Baker, the US Secretary of State, on Friday, Mr Gorbachov gained support for a full meeting of signatories to the Helsinki accord to take place before the end of the year. **Thatcher view:** The Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher has hardened her position on the reunification of the two Germanies, saying that "massive consultation" would be needed with other countries first (Andrew McEwen writes).

Mrs Thatcher said in Torquay on Saturday: "We agreed (at Helsinki) that no boundaries would be changed except by agreement. If any are to be changed, this would require massive consultation. All the changes in Germany must be done in conjunction with the other obligations for which we are all signed up."

## East Germans wonder at luxury of former rulers

From Anne McElvoy, Wandlitz, East Germany

The garage mechanic here does not wait for the question before supplying the answer: along the road with the wide line, turn in at the third chump of trees on the left, and there it is — the former government luxury residential complex.

The road from East Berlin used to have guards posted along it to deter curious citizens from loitering at Herr Erich Honecker, the former leader, and his Politburo left in a chauffeur-driven convoy for work each morning; the entire stretch was declared a no-stop route after an attempt on the former leader's life a few years ago.

Nowadays the road carries mainly East Germans who are curious to see the colony where their former rulers lived in wooded isolation from their subjects.

Since the local authorities started running guided tours to Wandlitz, thousands of small cars daily roll along the once empty country road; at weekends 40,000 visitors

tramp through the gardens once reserved for the elite.

They are greeted by Herr Frank Kuntzsch, a former Stasi guard-turned-tour-guide at the complex who is open about everything except his former work and privileges. No, he would rather not tell me his former rank in the Stasi. "That is history," he said before hustling the expectant crowd over to the first house, where they peer in at the windows.

Wandlitz is gloomy and overgrown and looks like a toy town for adults, with Wimpey-type houses planted at random in the forest.

In the middle of the fir trees hangs a disconnected telephone — "the woods here were crawling with Stasi", Herr Kuntzsch says.

The visitors are disappointed by the lack of splendour. "I thought it would be grander, more like Ceausescu's place," says one woman. She has taken the day off work and driven 80 miles to see it. "It is

still the big talking point in my factory," she says. "Everyone wants to say they have seen it."

The crowd clusters around house number 22 — the former Honecker residence, recognizable only by the electric fence around it and a sauna at the bottom of the garden. They tut to each other and there is a chorus of murmurs about prison being too good for him.

Down the road is the former home of Herr Walter Ulbricht, the country's hardline leader in the 1950s and 1960s who had the compound built after he was unseated by the East Berlin and Hungarian uprisings. Renowned for his paranoia, he had half the windows in his house walled up.

The most splendid of the residences is that of Herr Harry Tisch, the former trade union leader, who outstripped even the Honeckers in his obsession with Western deep-freeze goods and cleanliness — even the garage has its own shower.

## Hungary to let refugees claim dual citizenship

From Ernest Beck, Budapest

As tens of thousands of ethnic Hungarians demonstrated at the weekend throughout Transylvania to press for rights, Hungary announced that it had abrogated an agreement with Romania banning dual citizenship, a move which may aggravate relations in the region by allowing Romanian refugees the right to claim Hungarian nationality.

A Hungarian Foreign Ministry statement said the unilateral decision was prompted by the interim Romanian Government's "negative" attitude on the issue, and the unsettled status of thousands of Romanian refugees, most of them ethnic Hungarians who are continuing to flee Romania for Hungary.

More than 20,000 refugees have arrived in Hungary in the past two years to escape persecution under Ceausescu, an influx that Hungarian authorities had hoped would end with the overthrow of Ceausescu and the lifting of restrictions on the Hungarian minority's rights to its own language and culture.

Abrogating the 1979 treaty means that the refugees can maintain dual Hungarian-Romanian citizenship. The situation may fuel suspicion on the part of the growing Romanian nationalist movement that Hungary is trying to exert too much influence over Transylvania, home to Romania's two million ethnic Hungarians, and is encouraging the concept of a "dual" national status. However, Hungary insists that its decision is purely

humanitarian, to help resettle the refugees in either country and in line with international norms and commitments.

The move came up to 100,000 ethnic Hungarians staged silent candlelight demonstrations in dozens of towns and cities across Transylvania to support demands for the immediate opening of Hungarian schools.

The peaceful protests, said to be the largest in the region since the Romanian revolution in December, followed a week of smaller demonstrations in support of Hungarian schools, which erupted into clashes with Romanians opposed to the creation of a bilingual educational system, with separate Romanian and Hungarian schools.

Hungarian radio reported that several people were injured in a protest last week in the city of Cluj after Romanian nationalists denounced pro-Hungarian demonstrators as chauvinists and were said to have made threats to lynch them.

Romanian authorities have promised to restructure the school system to accommodate Hungarian speakers and other minority groups, but say that, due to limited funds and teaching staff, this can be accomplished only at the start of the next school term in September.

Mr Mihai Chitac, the Romanian Interior Minister, told the Hungarian newspaper *Nepszabadsag* that, while some complaints were justified, much had been accomplished.

## Mazowiecki charts path in economic minefield

From Marek Garzdecki, Warsaw



Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki is a cautious man. He speaks slowly and quietly, and chooses his words carefully.

The Polish Prime Minister is a back-room man suddenly thrust into the limelight when he became the first non-Communist leader of a Warsaw Pact country. He arrives in Britain today.

Not many experts believed that his Cabinet would last more than a few months, yet Mr Mazowiecki has confounded both friend and foe.

He has not only survived, but done so while introducing a painful programme of economic restructuring. The Solidarity Prime Minister gained and retains an approval rating of more than 70 per cent of the population. Is he surprised by his success?

"It is not a question of luck. The Government has gained credibility and still retains it, because it makes no secret of the difficulties facing it. The nation understands that, even if this path is difficult, one which leads, to quote Churchill, through 'blood, sweat and tears' — well, maybe not through blood, but sweat and tears, for

sure — we have none the less started a process that cannot be abandoned and that gives people some hope."

He said: "We are trying to learn determination from the British people." Many Polish politicians compete to sound more Thatcherite than the next, but Mr Mazowiecki points out that his Government is not attempting sharp inflation.

"I believe we have to draw on the experience of others, but we cannot do this mechanically. There are certain analogies between what we are doing and what has already been done in Britain. Our programme, however, is being implemented in the absence of a free market economy."

"We are trying to put the recession behind us and introducing a market economy in a situation of hyperinflation: our problems are far greater than those which the British faced."

In the fast-changing political landscape of Europe, where things previously thought impossible are today probable, indeed almost inevitable — German reunification for example — does the Polish Prime Minister see any convergence of British and Polish interests? "The tenet of British foreign policy, which Mrs Thatcher

has always emphasized, is that the changes taking place in Europe should be introduced in a manner that would guarantee their stability. I believe that this policy and the British, as well as Mrs Thatcher's personal attitude to the changes in the Soviet Union, and their influence on the whole situation, are very similar to our point of view."

"There is a convergence of opinion regarding the future shape of Europe. Emerging European institutions should have an open, co-operative character, and this applies to the markets as well as international relations. There is also an understanding that German reunification should take into account the interests of its neighbours. This is something of direct interest to us. I believe that our feeling of security, the inviolability of our borders, are important for the whole of Europe."

Many Poles are concerned that, as a result of its huge economic and human potential, a united Germany may become not only a dominant but a subjugating force on the European continent.

Mr Mazowiecki is well aware of these fears, yet he has an answer to

them. "It depends on whether the united Germany will be integrated into the European organism or whether it will dominate it. I believe that Britain has an important role to play in this."

Last month Mr Mazowiecki twice met President Havel of Czechoslovakia. Did this mean that the old idea of a Polish-Czechoslovak alliance was to be dusted off, as an alternative to closer relations with the West?

He replied that the relationship with Czechoslovakia should supplement others, rather than be seen as an alternative, but drew attention to differences between Central European nations, particularly in regard to the presence of Soviet troops on their territories.

"Soviet troops were stationed in Czechoslovakia only after 1968 and in Hungary in 1956. The existence of Soviet troops in Poland is connected with the presence of the Soviet Army in East Germany and the whole European context of superpower relations. These matters depend on the progress of negotiations between the two blocs and the solution of the German problem."

### WORLD ROUNDUP

## Colony concession hinted at by China

Peking — Mr Li Hou, the secretary-general of the Chinese Basic Law drafting committee, yesterday offered a sop to Britain, hinting that minor concessions would be made this week on the number of directly elected seats in the Hong Kong legislature after 1997 (Catherine Sampson writes).

Mr Li, meeting Hong Kong committee members here, said that abolishing the dual voting system, under which some seats will not be directly elected, was "probably impossible", but China would "see about negotiating other modifications" before the meeting of the National People's Congress this spring. His words hinted at very limited flexibility concerning the voting system, disliked by Hong Kong democracy activists, who say that the system will undermine directly elected representatives by giving power to a separate, functionally elected chamber.

## Clean-up continues

Los Angeles — Hundreds of workers, many of them on their knees using towels as mops, are continuing their clean-up of a widening 400,000-gallon oil spill from the American Trader tanker which has scarred southern California's once pristine beaches (Ivor Davis writes). The oil slick has washed ashore along a 15-mile stretch of beach, including the community of Newport Beach, as well as wetlands and a federal wildlife reserve, both prime nesting habitats for dozens of bird species. Mr Patrick Marley, an environmental lawyer of Los Angeles, has filed a \$1 billion (\$600 million) damage suit against British Petroleum Corporation and the owners of the oil tanker on behalf of sports fishing groups which claim the company was tardy in cleaning up the spill.

## Ethiopian war flares

Addis Ababa (AP) — Secessionist rebels in the northern Ethiopian province of Eritrea have launched a big new offensive, threatening government access to the vital Red Sea port of Massawa. The offensive, begun last Thursday along a front said by the rebels to be some 125 miles long, ended a lull in fighting in the region which had lasted nearly a year and plunged all four of the northern provinces back into civil war. It also jeopardized plans by the United Nations to provide relief food for an estimated four million drought victims in the region. The attack by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front came as the Government appeared to be containing another offensive farther south by the Tigre People's Liberation Front, a separate group.

## Dogmeat ban to go

Seoul — South Koreans will be able to eat dogs again without worrying about the long arm of the law, a newspaper reported yesterday. *Hankook Ilbo*, a Seoul daily, reported that an anonymous government official had announced that restrictions on the ancient dietary custom of dogmeat consumption would be lifted (John Gittelson writes). Under pressure from international animal rights groups, the Government cracked down on the sale of "repulsive food", particularly dogmeat, in the run-up to the 1988 Olympics here. The campaign met with widespread public resistance.

## Naples acts on smog

Rome — Italian cities are continuing their attempts to try to cut down alarming levels of air pollution (Paul Bompard writes). Naples yesterday banned the use of all private cars between 10am and 5pm. Local environmentalists ridiculed the Sunday ban as futile, but the city authorities claim it will allow for comparative measurements of smog to be made. In Florence, the authorities have set an 18mph speed limit in the city centre.

## SPECTRUM

## Africa's most wanted man

Nelson Mandela is free, 27 years after he began what was to become a life term.  
Gavin Bell charts the rise, fall and rise of the legendary black African leader

It was a warm Sunday in August, and the South African theatre director Cecil Williams and a black friend posing as his chauffeur were in a cheerful mood as they drove leisurely out of Durban towards Johannesburg. Approaching Howick Falls in Natal, they were waved down by a police roadblock and taken into custody.

The police did not appear to know who Williams and his driver were, or why they were arresting them; they had simply been ordered to stop a car with a certain registration number. Two days later, the security police announced triumphantly that the chauffeur was the elusive "Black Pimpernel", alias Nelson Mandela, military commander of the African National Congress (ANC), and the most wanted man in the country.

After 17 months on the run, Mandela was bundled behind bars on August 5, 1962, shortly after his 44th birthday. It was the end of 20 years of a valiant but hopeless struggle against the iniquities of Verwoerdian apartheid by a man described by *The Times* as "the colossus of African nationalism in South Africa". Two years later he was taken to Robben Island maximum security prison to begin a life sentence for treason, vowing to survive the appalling ordeal in prospect and to resume his struggle the moment he was released.

His defiance was characteristic of the legendary figure he had become, and something his parents had evidently anticipated — his middle name, Rolihlahla, means "stirring up trouble". Born on July 18, 1918, in a kraal of white-washed huts at Qunu in Transkei, Mandela came from princely stock. His father Henry was chief councillor to the paramount chief of the Tembu, the biggest tribe in Transkei, and he spent his childhood being groomed to become a chief.

Politics intervened during his studies at a college in the eastern Cape, where he met Oliver Tambo, the future ANC president, and was expelled for resisting efforts to curb the students' council. Rejecting an arranged marriage, Mandela set off for Johannesburg at the age of 22. His political education began in earnest in overcrowded urban slums, terrorized by police raids against liquor and pass-law offenders.

Fate intervened again when he was introduced to Walter Sisulu,

later to become the ANC secretary-general. With help from Sisulu he took a BA degree by correspondence, and began working with a firm of white lawyers while studying law at the University of the Witwatersrand.

During this period he married Evelyn Ntoko Mase, a nurse, and they set up home in Orlando, an expanding township of uniform matchbox houses 10 miles south-west of Johannesburg, which became the nucleus of Soweto. Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, lived nearby, and in 1942 the two men joined Tambo and others in founding the ANC youth league.

Six years later, the National Party came to power and codified apartheid into a statutory system. Elected to the ANC executive, Mandela orchestrated a campaign of strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience which culminated in riots and clashes with police on May Day, 1950, in which 18 blacks were killed and more than 30 were injured. Mandela recalled: "That day was a turning point in my life, both in understanding through first-hand experience the ruthlessness of the police, and in being deeply impressed by the support African workers had given." Despite the bloody repression, Mandela continued to advocate non-violence, and was a driving force behind a mass defiance campaign launched in June, 1952. A month later he and Sisulu and 30 others were arrested and charged with furthering the aims of communism, but the judge accepted that they were committed to peaceful action, and imposed nine-month sentences suspended for two years.

The government repeatedly branded Mandela a communist, but his traditional tribal background and religious upbringing mitigated against Marxist influences. On trial for his life 10 years later, he said: "I am not a communist, and I have never been a member of the Communist Party... we are fighting against poverty and lack of human dignity, and we do not need communists to teach us about these things." Rising through the ANC ranks, Mandela was served his first banning orders, prohibiting him from attending public gatherings and confining him to Johannesburg. Undeterred, he continued to address illegal meetings in the townships while practising as an attorney in partnership with Tambo.



"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society": Nelson Mandela raises a clenched fist of defiance after his release yesterday

A tall, athletic figure who captivated audiences with a blend of passion and humour, Mandela rallied against "the hideous and pernicious doctrines of racial inequality", condemned the "independent" tribal homelands as a political swindle and an economic absurdity, and quoted Nehru to his followers: "There is no easy walk to freedom."

At dawn on December 5, 1955, police knocked at Mandela's home and charged him with high treason. A total of 104 blacks, 23 whites, 21 Indians and seven coloureds (mixed race) joined him in the dock. The defendants were granted bail and the trial dragged on for more than five years, during which charges against 126 of them were dropped. During this period Mandela separated from his wife and married Nomzamo Winnie

Madikizela, a medical social worker who became active in the anti-apartheid movement. In the end Justice Rumpff, the judge who had acquitted Mandela in 1952, found the state had failed to prove the ANC was communist and committed to violence, and he found the remaining accused, including Mandela, not guilty.

His followers' jubilation was short-lived. The ANC was now banned, police were opening fire on huge anti-apartheid marches, the policy of passive resistance was proving futile, and Mandela went underground. In May 1961, he met British journalists in a Johannesburg apartment and told them: "If the government reaction is to crush by naked force our non-

violent struggle, we will have to reconsider our tactics. In my mind we are closing a chapter on this question of a non-violent policy."

Shortly afterwards, a small group led by Mandela formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the ANC, but they agreed to limit their activities to sabotaging power stations, and railway and telephone communications. "It did not involve loss of life," Mandela said. "Strict instructions were given to our people right from the start, that on no account were they to injure or kill people." In 1962, he attended a conference in Addis Ababa and toured north and west African states, arranging military training for his recruits and revelling in a sense of freedom "from the idiosyncrasy of apartheid and racial arrogance, from humiliation

and indignity... wherever I went, I was treated like a human being". Mandela flew to London in June for talks with the Labour Party leader, Hugh Gaitskill, and the Liberal Party leader, Jo Grimond. But his arrest in Natal was just six weeks away.

A reporter who observed Mandela's arrival at Johannesburg magistrate's court on August 8 wrote: "Verwoerd's most wanted man made a slow and dramatic appearance, mounting the steps to the court like a quiet, avenging giant." Charged with inciting black workers to strike, and leaving the country without valid travel documents, Mandela replied: "I consider myself neither legally nor morally bound to obey laws made by a parliament in which I have no representation... I am a black man in a white man's court."

Three months later, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment with hard labour, but worse was to come. In July the following year Sisulu and eight others were arrested at a farmhouse in Rivonia, a suburb of Johannesburg, and in October 1963 Mandela joined them in the dock to again face charges of treason.

In a historic four-hour address to the court in Pretoria, Mandela declared: "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for, and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." On the eve of sentencing on June 12, 1964, the United Nations General Assembly called for the unconditional release of all political prisoners in South Africa, including the Rivonia defendants, and *The Times* commented: "The verdict of history will be that the ultimate guilty party is the government in power — and that is already the verdict of world opinion." The court ruled otherwise, and the following day Mandela, Sisulu and six others were flown to Robben Island, a rocky, windswept outcrop in turbulent seas seven miles north-west of Cape Town, where they began labouring on a new maximum security section of 88 cells which they were the first to occupy.

Despite the harsh conditions, the ANC leaders remained unbowed. Eddie Daniels, a fellow prisoner, recalled: "Mandela and Sisulu lifted you, they made you strong. Mandela taught me how to survive." In 1982, Mandela and Sisulu were transferred to a more modern prison near Cape Town, and in December 1988, Mandela's conditions improved further when he was assigned to a warder's house at Victor Verster prison in the western Cape.

In 1985, the then South African President, P.W. Botha, said Mandela would be released if he renounced violence. Mandela's reply was read out by his daughter Zindzi at a rally in Soweto: "Let Botha renounce violence, let him dismantle apartheid." Evidently Botha had not paid attention to Mandela's speech in court after his arrest in 1962: "I hate race discrimination most intensely and in all its manifestations. I have fought it all my life. I fight it now, and I will do so until the end of my days... I will still be moved by my hatred of race discrimination against my people when I come out from serving my sentence, to take up again, as best I can, the struggle for the removal of those injustices, until they are finally abolished once and for all."

## How the mighty have fallen

When Mike Tyson hit the canvas at the weekend it was only the latest in a long history of upset results from some of sport's rank outsiders

As upsets go, Mike Tyson's mauling by James "Buster" Douglas is a heavyweight, first-division thoroughbred. If that is a jumble of references, no matter, for tales of the unexpected rain down as thick and fast as a champion's blows through modern chronicles of sporting confrontation.

The first shock result on record, David v Goliath, does not count since the challenger was under age and probably fighting unlicensed.

The Douglas sensation — whatever its official status is to be — almost certainly outstrips the victory of

Muhammad Ali (then Cassius Clay) over Sonny Liston in 1964. Liston was then considered as invincible as Mike Tyson today, yet the odds against the young Clay were a mere 7-1, compared with Douglas's 10-1. It also outpoints the underdog Ali's win over George Foreman in Zaire in 1974, and Foreman's flattening of the 8-1 favourite, Joe Frazier, the previous year. Unless you fancy Ingemar Johansson's defeat of Floyd Patterson as a contender, you probably have to go back to 1935 to Long Island, New York, when "Cinderella Man" James J. Braddock came fresh from the headline to topple defending heavyweight champion Max Baer.

But forget about international boxing; the real action in the running against the bookies, or Mis-Stakes, is in Irish cricket, which vaults the ultimate upset, a thrashing of West Indies. It happened at the picturesque ground of Sion Mills, a village 15 miles from Londonderry, in 1969. The tourists, under the management of the great Clyde Walcott, lost the one-day fixture after being bowled out for a scarcely believable 25 runs. That total represented something of a recovery, as they had lost the first six wickets for eight runs. The Dominican, Grayson Shillingford, then came to the rescue with a score of nine.

Upset-fanciers believe this episode to be untrumpable. It cannot be translated into a boxing parallel as it would entail one man defeating another of twice his height and three times his weight. Football furnishes us with something close — the beating of Herbert Chapman's great Arsenal side by third division Walsall. It happened in 1933, when the London club was on its way to a third successive League title, and was considered even harder to beat than today's Liverpool. It was about 50 years too early to be as sick as a parrot, but Chapman did manage to



Underdog: Johnson lines up to take Davies's 1986 world title

communicate his disgust so effectively that two of his players never again kicked a ball for Arsenal. Then there was the 1-0 victory by the United States (who are roughly to football as Ireland is to cricket) in 1950 over England.

Two hot favourites in the Mis-Stakes come appropriately from the world of racing, although both are made suspect by a technicality. One is the horse Abeyour, which came home first in the 1913 Derby at odds of 100-1; but, as the modern commentator would say, the only true victor that day was women's suffrage. The second was Fomavon, winner of the 1967 Grand National, where, with 26 runners falling from a field of 44, the only true victor was the late Becker's Brook.

In terms of odds, the snooker player Joe Johnson takes some beating. When he overcame Steve Davies (who else?) in the 1986 World Championships by 18 frames to 12, he did so as a 150-1 outsider. The Argentinian Roberto de Vicenzo enjoys a similar status for having won, in 1967, the only major event of his career as a golfer. He was, by then, 44, the event was the British Open, and this was his twentieth crack at it. Other strong runners include the Russian Prince Obolensky who, in his debut rugby match for Oxford University in 1936, scored two tries

Alan Franks  
The Tyson fight, page 36

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# TIMES DIARY

SHERIDAN MORLEY

**T**erry Hands's decision to close the two Royal Shakespeare Company stages at the Barbican for four months from November marks, I believe, the beginning of the end of the RSC in the City altogether. The director now considered most likely to inherit the "poisoned chalice" of company management from Hands is Adrian Noble, who has already made it clear in private that his acceptance of what many consider an almost impossible administrative job would be conditional on the RSC's withdrawal from the Barbican and a complete reconsideration of its London role for the 1990s.

This could mean a retreat to the Stratford home base, working with a vastly more secure tourist economy in the community much preferred by RSC actors and backstage crews alike to the unfriendly Barbican tower blocks and underground rehearsal rooms. When a hit is achieved on either the main or the Swan stage at Stratford, it could be transferred to a more suitable London theatre. Problems over the Barbican lease would have to be resolved — amicably, one hopes — but in view of a deficit approaching £3 million, with the Royal Insurance sponsorship fast running out and no sign of anyone keen to take its place, precious few members of the RSC are prepared to bet that the Barbican will remain a permanent part of their lives.

**W**hile this tragedy of errors could be seen as a model of all that is wrong with the state subsidy system, things are organized rather differently at Chichester, where Michael Rudman is taking over as director from Robin Phillips, who stayed all of 26 hours. Chichester is the one major repertoire company in Britain to have always existed without Arts Council support and sets a shining Thatcherite example in raising its own finance.

Chichester prides itself on a rich mix of Nissan sponsorship, a wealthy catchment area, and a minuscule grant from Southern Arts. Rumours are that this summer season may well be led by Alan Howard in a rare Peter Wood revival of *The Hidden King*, but Rudman also promises Penelope Keith in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (a production then bound for California), Peter Hall directing a new Ionesco musical designed by Gerald Scarfe, and Dora Bryan in the British premiere of Kander and Ebb's Broadway hit, *70 Girls 70*.

For Rudman, a Texan married to Felicity Kendal and long experienced in the running of theatres from the Edinburgh Traverse to the National's Lyttelton by way of Hampstead, Chichester presents no unusual problems. He says: "We're a cosmopolitan regional theatre just as the Traverse is, with the same kind of dedicated non-London theatregoers, and policy is a matter of who you work with: I've always been lucky enough to work with the best."

BARRY FANTONI



'Cheer up, at least we won't feel guilty about not going more often'

**F**or the last six weeks, Leonard Bernstein and author John Wells, with whom he recently collaborated on the Scottish Opera and Barbican concert versions of *Candide*, have been closeted on an island off Florida working on a new stage musical which will be Bernstein's first in more than a decade. Will somebody please tell me what it is?

**I**n the struggle to raise money for Aids charities, the West End theatre has until now been unable to devote the same degree of attention as Broadway, which regards Aids as a local community problem to be resolved by those it has most affected. Now, however, comes the launching in London of West End Cares, an organization of actors, directors and backstage crew who hope to contribute to Cruisaid by producing a series of shows great and small, from one-night concert revivals of major musicals to the kind of solo shows recently seen at the Playhouse.

So far these have usually been staged on a single-evening basis with no central coordination: the idea is that West End Cares will take over the management of such charity specials and initiate new ones. Cruisaid will welcome inquiries from performers, sponsors and theatre-goers at its offices, 21a Upper Tachbrook Street, London SW1V 1SN, phone 01-834 7566.

My car was stolen on Friday evening. Perhaps I should amend that: on Friday evening when I went to where I had left my car — in order to drive to my daughter's house in Battersea en route for dinner in Sussex — it was not there. I stood on the pavement, my garment-bag containing my £80 Hong Kong dinner jacket in my right hand and wondered, the way one does, whether this was where I had left it. The answer was an unequivocal yes.

On Monday night, after dinner at the Savoy in aid of the Arvon Foundation, I had driven around Marylebone looking for a resident's parking place. Balstrode Street, which is my best, was full. So was Bentinck. I tried Welbeck and New Cavendish Streets — nothing. I turned east and crawled down Mansfield, Dukes and Upper Regent Streets — useless. Finally I found a gap big

enough to take my Rover Sterling, reversed in and marked the place so that I would find it again: outside St James's Church in Spanish Place — where I was married 39 and a bit years ago. One doesn't forget that.

So there I was, in the rain, two hours before the eclipse of the moon, carless, and decided that the most important thing was to get to Battersea, pick up my eldest daughter and reach the dinner on time. As my wife is playing Lady More in *A Man for All Seasons* in Pakistan, I walked back to Wimpole Street, picked up her keys, found her Renault and arrived in SW11 in time to say goodnight to my grandwits.

# Fresh trials facing Mandela

Amid the euphoria, R.W. Johnson considers the ANC's many problems as it contemplates negotiations with De Klerk

**L**ike the vast throng who welcomed him in Cape Town yesterday, I cannot hide my emotions over Nelson Mandela's release. As a teenager I stole away with a friend to hear him speak — our white faces in the black crowd attracting the attention of the security police. I remember as if it were yesterday my awed admiration for his courage in speaking. Now, after all those years, I salute him anew as he steps into freedom.

Yesterday was Mandela's personal day of triumph. The ANC will claim the release as its triumph too. In an obvious way that is true, but it is also true that since President de Klerk's historic speech on February 2, the ANC has dithered in apparent confusion. After an initial burst of euphoria the leadership in exile quickly fell back into defensive postures, started to discover reasons not to return home, and tried to set conditions for the release which De Klerk has now simply swept aside. After decades of spitting defiance, the ANC's confused response at finding an olive branch thrust towards it is understandable. But there is a good deal of regretful head-shaking within the ranks that De Klerk has so kept the initiative.

For the moment this hardly matters amid the tidal wave of excitement and celebration. But when the euphoria subsides, the ANC will have to start facing up to a series of tricky problems. First, there is the question of the return of the exiles, based mainly in Zambia. The exiled leadership wants to keep a considerable military and diplomatic presence outside South Africa but is

**F**or black South African teenagers (and a good number of white ones too), Nelson Mandela is an idol. They sing songs about him; they write his name on walls; they wear his image on T-shirts. They have been joining the movement which he symbolically leads in hundreds of thousands. His release is only the latest episode in the renaissance of the ANC as a popular force in South African politics.

The guerrilla war has made a vital contribution to the ANC's present popularity. In 1967, South Africans fought on both sides in one of the opening chapters of the Zimbabwean war. The episode provided useful combat experience for men like Chris Hani, now second-in-command of the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

In the late 1960s Umkhonto began building bases in neighbouring countries. When 12,000 youngsters fled South Africa after the 1976 Soweto uprising, two-thirds of them joined the ANC, mainly because it was there, ready to receive them. Independent Angola allowed the ANC to open training camps (the ANC repaid the debt by letting Umkhonto help soldiers of the ruling MPLA fight UNITA rebels); Mozambique permitted the establishment of transit facilities; and in 1977 the first Umkhonto soldiers came home to fight.

It has been only a minor war:

far from settling the question of who should and who should not return. Individuals are meanwhile jumping the gun and trickling back. Judging by the spate of telephone calls from exiles to their families, the temptation to break discipline runs right to the top of the movement. And the sight of Mandela addressing huge rallies and beginning to re-establish a mass organization within South Africa will exercise a tremendous gravitational pull on exiled politicians keen not to get left behind.

Following close on that is the question of ANC organization and leadership within South Africa. A number of organizations and élites have sprung to prominence within the broad anti-apartheid movement and there will be no automatic tendency for them to disappear or allow themselves to be displaced by returning exiles. Questions begin at the level of the ANC national executive; this is composed solely of exiles and has still not found a place for someone as senior as Walter

Sisulu, the movement's former general secretary and virtual godfather, who was released from prison in October.

Although Mandela holds no official position within the ANC at present, it is difficult to see how anyone can contest his leadership, especially as the current president, Oliver Tambo, is still half-paralysed from a stroke. However, jockeying for power has already begun. Radicals within the movement, clearly scared by signs of Mandela's moderation, have been suggesting that he is just one leader among many. That simply will not wash once the extent of his national and international support becomes apparent.

Meanwhile, the exiled leaders in Zambia would like Mandela to visit them immediately and so acknowledge their authority, but other voices around Mandela will suggest that his stature requires that he take his time and not rush to Lusaka cap-in-hand. Tensions of this kind are bound to grow if the bulk of the leadership stays abroad.

There is, too, the problem of

the churches. Within South Africa there is a growing concern that the emergent ANC organization should be properly rooted in, and accountable to, the key constituency of trade unions, youth, education and civic associations. On this view there is no room for the churches, which affiliated so powerfully to the United Democratic Front during the ANC's years of suppression. Not a few ANC supporters regard Archbishop Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak as undisciplined political entrepreneurs.

Tutu seems to have taken the hint; Boesak — South Africa's Jesse Jackson — has not. But naturally the movement would like to continue to benefit from church support. This has led to suggestions that the UDF should stay in existence.

**T**hen again, there is the strong objection by churchmen, and others, to the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party. Some have refused to walk in demonstrations under SACP

banners. Moreover, while the SACP is immensely powerful within the exiled leadership, its position will come under threat as the movement becomes more sensitive to the pressures of South Africa's growing black middle class. The tension between the SACP and the more straightforwardly nationalist wing seems likely to grow.

Beyond all that, the ANC will not find negotiation easy. On its right it will be flanked by Chief Buthezi's Inkatha movement, experienced in negotiation, well organized and keen to deal with De Klerk. To its left it will face the spoiling attacks of the Pan Africanist Congress, which says any negotiation is a sell-out and that the struggle must continue for the "seizure of power".

The prize at stake here is nothing less than the inheritance of the "tradition" of the 1976 Soweto uprising and the quasi-revolutionary turmoil of 1984-86. The ANC within the country is utterly hyped up with that spirit, rendering it psychologically and emotionally unready for the negotiation process.

When it does start, and for its duration, the white government will control the army, police and the whole state machine — and De Klerk, having demonstrated his resolution as a reformer, will clearly be a redoubtable opponent in negotiation.

All these problems mean that the ANC can be expected to balk at the negotiation process like a horse at a jump. But, just as its decision to concentrate its international campaign on Mandela now means that he has become its inevitable leader, so its very success in gaining such a large measure of international support over the years will now make it unable to resist the international pressure to negotiate. Mrs Thatcher seems likely to lift some sanctions soon, and so perhaps undermine the whole sanctions campaign. That alone will make the pressure to negotiate almost irresistible.

All in all, then, the ANC and Mandela himself have no shortage of problems to deal with. For the moment these will be subsumed in triumphant celebration, a celebration in which I shall certainly share. And in the end, one cannot but wonder how much all these problems will matter. For the ANC reminds me of the breakers which crash constantly on the Indian and Atlantic ocean shores of this beautiful land. Those breakers are a great foaming confusion of eddies, whirlpools, side-currents, and backwash. But they roll in irresistibly all the same.

The ANC is now in its own state of foaming confusion — but it seems likely that it too will prove just as unstoppable.

R.W. Johnson is author of *How Long Will South Africa Survive?*



## Climax of a long haul back

not more than 50 guerrilla attacks annually until a sudden leap in 1985, when the total rose to 136. Since then between 200 and 300 incidents a year can be attributed to Umkhonto, mainly limpet mine and hand grenade explosions. With some notable lapses between 1985 and 1988, Umkhonto has fought a clean war; guerrillas were discouraged from targeting civilians. In the early 1980s, spectacular sabotage operations predominated: the Sasolberg oil-from-coal refinery and the Koeberg nuclear installation were damaged in Umkhonto expeditions which testified to careful planning and sophisticated organization.

Car bombs and landmines in the late 1980s signalled a new ruthlessness and a disregard for the old embargo on hurting civilians. But the 204 attacks last year seem to indicate a return to

restraint, with the emphasis on assaults directed at soldiers and policemen.

A war on this scale hardly represents a real threat to white security; Ian Smith's Rhodesians in their much smaller country were confronted with an insurgency at least 10 times this size. But Umkhonto has achieved its purpose. The bravery of its members in the field and their eloquence in court (for they have been captured in legions) have won for the organization widespread admiration.

But there has been more to the ANC's rise than guerrilla heroics. The Soweto uprising released energies which helped to reconstitute a vibrant civil society which had all but disappeared under the crushing weight of apartheid.

Within the universities, a new generation of intellectuals dis-

covered Marxism. Despite stringent government restrictions, the press (increasingly directed at a black readership) took up the cause. In 1980, the *Sunday Post* ran a Release Mandela petition and reprinted the ANC's programme, the Freedom Charter.

The charter was adopted by the recently founded Congress of South African Students, the emerging force in township classrooms. Most important of all, trade unions, granted legal rights in 1979, and reflecting in their steady growth the advance of black workers in an increasingly sophisticated manufacturing economy, began to enlist the support of local communities in consumer boycotts directed at strike-bound employers.

Within the Indian community, Gandhi's old Indian Congress was revived. Opposition to an elaborate constitutional

scheme giving parliamentary representation to Indians and mixed-race "coloureds" combined with accelerating inflation and high unemployment to ignite a blaze of protest throughout the country. At its head was the United Democratic Front, a potent federation of civic, youth and classroom organizations. Here authority was shared equally by ANC notables and the younger generation of activists who had graduated from the segregated universities, at which the state had hoped to nurture a loyal cadre of black administrators and managers.

Between 1984 and 1986, UDF adherents ruled supreme in the townships, setting up new structures of popular government. A heavily politicized trade union movement rocked the economy with a series of general strikes. It was the unions which proved to

be the bedrock of black resistance after troops were sent into the townships in 1986. Last year, the million-strong Cosatu trade union federation helped to lead a campaign of defiance which intentionally echoed the ANC's own launching of civil disobedience in 1952.

The movement which Mandela now rejoins draws its authority from the history which he helped to make, but it is more powerful, more radical, and more complicated than any black organization which existed when he was a young man. And confronting him is a white South Africa which can still command impressive resources to defend itself but which is in a state of unprecedented moral and ideological crisis.

There are limits to black strength in South Africa: the ANC is unlikely ever to match the army's firepower, and trade unions can close down the industrial economy only briefly and sporadically. Black South Africans may not be able to defeat their white compatriots, but perhaps they can win significant numbers of them over. Maybe Mandela, more than any other single figure, has the moral standing that can transcend South Africa's tragic divisions.

Tom Lodge

Director of the Africa programme at the New York Social Science Research Council and author of *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*.

## Arms control through the looking glass

David Hart outlines a US-Soviet plot to keep their troops in Europe

**W**hile Gorbachev wrestles with multi-partyism in Moscow, the CFE talks on reductions in conventional forces in Europe are making astonishing progress. When it began last March, this negotiation was expected to take years since it involved a "delicately complex web of details".

In the words of Edward L. Rowley, President Bush's special adviser on arms control, the clever diplomats in Vienna rented houses suitable to their status, arranged skiing lessons for their wives and entered their children in the local schools.

Before any reductions could be contemplated, it was of course necessary to agree the number of weapons and troops on each side. This exercise is known in the jargon as "bean counting". The discussion began along traditional lines with each side understating its own forces and overstating the other side's, although in fairness to Western diplomats it should be said that many of their instructing governments were not sure how many weapons or troops they

had, and even less idea how many the Soviet Union had.

For the clever diplomats there was one tiny cloud. However the counting turned out, the Warsaw Pact was known to have a huge advantage in numbers of troops and weapons. Whenever this had been pointed out in the past, and it was suggested that the Warsaw Pact should cut more of its forces than Nato, Moscow let out howls of *nechistaya igra*, which is Russian for foul play.

Then Gorbachev ordered his diplomats to adopt new thinking and agree not only the "bean counting" but also the principle of asymmetric cuts. One or two of the older diplomats began to feel uneasy. Uneasiness turned to panic when the people of the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact countries threw out their communist governments. Worse, the new governments in Eastern Europe, notably in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, said publicly that they wanted the Soviet troops garrisoned on their soil to

go home. This rather pulled the Aubusson from beneath the unfortunate feet of the clever diplomats on both sides.

Now, the new East European governments have begun to indicate, privately, that they not only want Soviet troops out, with or without a conventional forces treaty, but that they would rather there were no hurried reduction in American forces in Nato, because they want to be sure that once the Soviet troops are out they stay out. Indeed, some East European governments have let it be known, privately, that they fear a cataclysm in the Soviet Union with unforeseeable consequences for Eastern Europe, and believe that a strong Nato might provide some security for them.

When the CFE talks began, the Soviet general staff were naturally hoping that any treaty they were able to achieve would lead to a stronger Warsaw Pact and a weaker Nato. Unfortunately, it may now be the case that the

general staff no longer want to see strong non-Soviet Warsaw Pact forces since they might inhibit Soviet troops wishing to cross Eastern Europe, or prevent them from re-entering Eastern Europe if they deem it necessary at some future date in order to preserve some future revolution.

German reunification has added another complication. If Soviet troops are to leave Eastern Europe whether they like it or not, Moscow's visceral fear of a strong and united Germany will come to the fore. That fear was expressed several times last week in speeches at the Central Committee meeting. One way this fear might be assuaged is if the Soviet general staff can arrange with the US joint chiefs for a significant number of American troops to remain in Germany.

This line of reasoning is, of course, immensely appealing to the joint chiefs. They are having difficulty trying to persuade Congress not to impose deep

cuts in their budget. If a ceiling on American troops can be agreed, the joint chiefs can explain to Congress that they cannot cut further because they are obliged by solemn treaty undertakings with Moscow to keep certain troop levels in Western Europe.

Congress might well fall for this, as it fell for Titan missiles and the build-up of Trident submarines, although it involves transforming a ceiling into a floor, in itself no mean feat.

Most ordinary people would be stymied by the complexities of such a negotiation. Not the clever diplomats in Vienna. Using, in Rowley's phrase, "the full creative and moral energies of the leaders of both East and West", a neat solution has been found. Each side will reverse its original negotiating position. The Soviet diplomats will urge the retention of American troops in Western Europe, particularly in West Germany, and, in return, the US diplomats will

urge the retention of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe.

That this brilliant demarche has been achieved was confirmed by Ambassador Rowney when, on January 24, he said that both sides had tabled draft treaties that were "encouragingly similar in philosophy and practical details". This may well explain Gorbachev's new readiness to accept the reunification of Germany and President Bush's offer to cut troop levels to 195,000 on each side and Nato's new concessions on tanks, aircraft (including helicopters) and armoured troop carriers.

Everyone can be satisfied with these efforts except the newly democratizing East Europeans. When they press the Soviet Union to remove its troops they will be given the same answer as that given to Congress: that the ceiling agreed in Vienna has, in fact, become a floor and that the Soviet occupation of East European national territory has now been sanctified by a solemn and binding international treaty. The author is chairman of the Committee for a Free Britain.

## Take 100 double yellow lines



CLEMENT FREUD

satisfaction. Directory gave me the number of the police in Marylebone. I announced the theft of my car. Police in Marylebone said they did not accept car thefts until these had been cleared

by the clamping and tow-away people. I explained that I was a resident, had a permit, was parked in a designated place. They said: "Tow-away people often make mistakes."

So I rang clamping/tow-away and an answering machine told me to be ready to provide the registration number of the car in question — and played music at me until someone was ready to attend to my problem. Music is not what a man needs when he is worried about thieves driving his car, probably using the phone to ring Honduras. When a woman answered I gave my registration number: she confirmed they had not removed it.

So I got back to Marylebone police station, was put through to the crime desk and became V248. I asked if that meant mine was the 248th car reported stolen that week. Front desk said it was not as bad as that and advised me that if by chance I saw the car or it turned up, not to drive it without informing them. That was reassuring, one had the feeling that as from then, anyone behind the wheel of D222 VAV would be detained on the spot. I rang Aircall and asked them to disconnect my car phone.

My number one daughter drove my wife's car to Clapham Junction station because my glasses were in the glove compart-

ment of the stolen car and negotiating the rush hour on the way to Battersea had not been easy; perhaps I should have asked the police to put out a warning. We were met at the Sussex station, taken to the hotel and had good food and drink and returned to Clapham Junction from where I drove home very carefully — because of not having glasses.

I did not go racing on Saturday because my binoculars were in the boot of the car and I can't follow much of the action without them, but on Saturday afternoon I went for a walk to where my car had been, to see if I might find evidence of forcible entry.

I found my car. It was on a resident's parking place outside the church of St James's in Spanish Place. The church has two entrances. I should have known that. I was married there 39 and a bit years ago.

هكذا من الأصل



1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone: 01-782 5000

## SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW START

Nelson Mandela yesterday exchanged the burden of imprisonment for the far greater burden of his country's hope. During the twenty-seven years he spent in a variety of South African jails, the world's most famous political prisoner has grown rather than diminished in stature, and now his image has become an icon of the liberation struggle of black South Africans, his name an incantation for freedom.

But as in recent years it became increasingly evident that the South African Government had become the prisoner of the man it had jailed, it was equally obvious that Mr Mandela's stature was due as much to the force of his personality and his political wisdom as it was to the ANC's need for a unifying and internationally recognised symbol of its struggle against apartheid.

From the moment, however, that he emerged yesterday from the gates of the Victor Verster prison into the full glare of the world's media spotlight, Mr Mandela exchanged the mantle of near-mystical hero for the far more difficult flesh-and-blood role of active politician. In the anarchic cauldron of black politics, it is one which will test to the uttermost all his undoubted skills as strategist and negotiator.

His first and most difficult task will be to impose some form of coherence on a black opposition which remains as its confused response to President de Klerk's initiatives has shown — deeply divided by strategy, ideology and personal ambition.

The divisions separate those in the internal parties who believe — mistakenly — that "people power" will win the day and who insist on victory and a transition to majority rule before negotiation on one side; and on the other, those of the older ANC leadership who understand that white fears have to be accommodated. There are the unreconstructed Marxists, the milder socialists made uneasy by events in Eastern Europe and still others who know that South Africa must maintain a vigorous market economy if they are not to inherit a country which has beggared itself and its neighbours.

Indeed, the ANC flag, which shares with the hammer and sickle of the South African Communist Party pride of place at most opposition rallies in the black townships, is today little more than a flag of convenience for mutually hostile factions both within the organization and outside.

Protest politics and violent demonstrations together with the euphoria over Mr Mandela's release mask those fissures for the moment. This is surely one reason why the exiled leadership of the ANC appears content to let them run while it dithers about how to react to the bold political moves of President de Klerk.

Rallies and demonstrations, however, cannot secure the goal of a free non-racial democracy for which Nelson Mandela went to jail. Indeed their continuation, once the tumult and the shouting surrounding his release dies down, could put that goal beyond reach. For they risk feeding both the fears of the white electorate and the unbridled appetite for repression of the South African Police, which seems determined to thwart Mr De Klerk's agenda of reform.

Certainly — as the violence, looting and the police brutality at yesterday's welcoming rally in Cape Town so dismally demonstrated — there would appear to be an unwitting conspiracy between those at opposite ends of

the political spectrum to destroy this moment of hope for all South Africans and return to the politics of unrest and repression which will reduce South Africa to a wasteland.

The only way that dread option can be foreclosed and a highly volatile situation defused is for both sides to give President de Klerk and Mr Mandela the space in which to start the negotiating process as quickly as possible.

To achieve that, President de Klerk will probably have to exercise even greater statesmanship than he has already shown. He will have to curb the excesses of the police by changing the internal security laws to which they so gleefully adhere. Meanwhile, Mr Mandela will have to display even greater strength of purpose than he has shown during his years of incarceration by calming the violent euphoria of his followers and those who use his freedom as an excuse for riot, rampage and looting.

If either fail, the long-held argument of South Africa's security chiefs that Mr Mandela's release would spark a general insurrection could become a self-fulfilling prophecy. In that case both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela could be swept aside and with them all hope of a peaceful end to the apartheid state.

It is here that the rest of the world has a decisive role to play. It is of course a truism that the future of South Africa will be decided by South Africans themselves. Nevertheless, the time has arrived for those nations which have long claimed an interest in and an ability to influence events in South Africa to use that influence in the most benign way possible.

The ANC leadership should be urged to accept Mr de Klerk's invitation, return from exile and convert itself from a liberation movement into a political party capable of devising strategies as well as slogans, and a party capable of compromise as well as confrontation.

At the same time, Mr De Klerk, who in ten days has taken his courage and his country's future into his hands, needs to be given more than words of encouragement if he is to allay the fears of South Africa's white tribe. Shifting the goalposts so far away that all the white population can discern is its own extinction is not the way to calm those fears or strengthen the South African President's hand against the doom-laden prophecies of the far-right.

This is why Mrs Thatcher is correct in responding positively to events in South Africa by offering to lift sanctions; and why the United States and the European Community should close their ears to the pusillanimous advice of Mr Neil Kinnock, Sir Sonny Ramphal and all those who dread the end of the anti-apartheid industry. At best, Mr Kinnock would reward Mr De Klerk with a carrot or two only when majority rule is in place and South Africa's most famous former political prisoner is its first ever black President.

That day can only be achieved once the shouting and the shooting stops and the talking begins. To ensure that it starts quickly and in as peaceful an atmosphere as possible, a world ever eager to punish vice should now be equally ready to recognize, encourage and reward Mr De Klerk's high-risk conversion to virtue. Only that way will yesterday's event mark not merely the end of Mr Mandela's imprisonment, but a new beginning for all South Africans.

## AFTER THE PLENUM

After a week in which the West seemed to expect democracy to break out in the Soviet Union overnight, the piecemeal emergence of what was actually agreed at the Central Committee Plenum has inevitably come as something of an anti-climax. The draft platform for the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, though historic in its long-term implications, is replete with compromise and qualification. It reflects the tough struggle in which Mr Gorbachev had to engage in order to persuade the Central Committee to take the first limited but crucial step towards the abdication of the Party's political monopoly.

Article VI of the Constitution, for example, is to be amended, not repealed. In an eventually plural Soviet political society legitimacy, it seems, is to be accorded only to "socialist" parties and groupings. The draft platform is by no means a manifesto for a multi-party system; it represents, rather, grudging recognition that if the Party does not move towards voluntary abandonment of its monopoly of political activity, it will founder in the gathering storm of popular frustration and discontent.

It is now clear, too, that Mr Gorbachev sustained defeat at the hands of the hard-liners. He failed to win support for his proposal to slim down the Central Committee itself. More importantly, the Central Committee rejected the relatively conciliatory resolution which he put forward on Lithuania in favour of the much harsher and uncompromising formulations proposed by Mr Ligachov.

If there was ever a chance that the Lithuania Communist Party might postpone its implementation of the UDI proclaimed by the 20th Congress, the Plenum's condemnatory resolution has put paid to it. In sum, it seems unlikely that the Plenum has improved the Party's image sufficiently to save many of its members from humiliation in the elections to the republican and local Soviets in three weeks' time.

These shortcomings in the Plenum's outcome need not, however, be viewed too tragically. Disappointment in Soviet radical circles, though understandable, is premature. The platform approved by the Central Committee will be debated and can be

amended by the 28th Party Congress itself that body is likely to be significantly less conservative than the Central Committee whose hard-liners it can, in any case, be expected to vote out. The final say, moreover, will lie with the Congress of People's Deputies, whose task it will be to translate the Party's recommendations into law; in that forum, the influence of the radicals is strong.

Although, therefore, the outcome of the Plenum is less clear-cut than Mr Gorbachev may have wished, it seems likely that by next autumn the political structure of the Soviet Union will indeed have undergone a further dramatic transformation. The Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet, under a President with greatly enhanced executive powers, will have replaced the Politburo as the focus of power. The Party, although "more equal than others" as Mr Gerasimov allowed with engaging candour, will have to face, at every electoral level, challenges to its right to represent the Soviet people.

In doing so, the Communist Party will labour under two major handicaps. The first is that, in the virtual absence of mature or coherent alternative political creeds, the strongest competitors in the new multi-party arena will be nationalist parties in many of the non-Russian republics. They alone have a simple and ready-made programme: more independence, perhaps even secession. The Party will thus face the uncomfortable dilemma of either fighting local rear-guard actions on behalf of the imperial centre or, like its Communist colleagues in Lithuania, becoming nationalist itself and then fragmenting in the process.

The second handicap will be the continuing and deepening crisis in the Soviet economy, for which the Party is rightly held responsible. With the surprising exception of a speech by the usually conservative Mr Vorotnikov, who called for rapid monetary and price reform, the Plenum produced no evidence that the Party leadership has the political courage to take the hard decisions which alone could arrest the decline. The real political battleground lies in the empty shops and markets of Soviet cities and mining towns: unless the Party can fill them, no amount of constitutional engineering will save it.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Britain's uphill struggle to master world markets

From the General Secretaries of the TGWU and the MSF

Sir, May we extend our sympathy to Mr Stuart Mensley, who Tom Bower reports in the second of his three articles on British industry (Spectrum, February 5; Business and Finance, February 6, 7) as doubting that he will "ever afford a new car again". But we also extend our sympathy to the 180 workers whom Mr Mensley has just sacked because of, in his words, "low-priced imports, exchange rates and high interest charges".

Mr Mensley and those 180 workers are not the only ones who have suffered from misguided Government policies. Two million workers in manufacturing industry have lost their jobs in the last 10 years. Many very significant British firms have gone bankrupt. The final result is now a £20 billion trade deficit last year.

As the general secretaries of two large unions with many members in manufacturing, we welcome Tom Bower's articles. Our members are so deeply committed to the revitalisation of industry. They know that their jobs depend on it, as does the ability of this nation to provide the wealth to create effective social provision and the reconstruction of our public infrastructure.

Our two unions have just produced a joint statement on this subject, called *Making our Future*. In it we tackle the basic causes for the great decline which has afflicted British industry. What has concerned us as much as the decline has been the almost blank silence from the Government on this issue. The recent down-rating of the Department of Trade and Industry is a further case in point.

We hope that Tom Bower's articles will be an important contribution to opening up this debate.

Yours sincerely,  
KEN GILL, General Secretary,  
Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union,  
RON TODD, General Secretary,  
Transport and General Workers Union,  
79 Camden Road, NW1,  
February 8.

From Mr David Shobrook  
Sir, I must take issue with Mr Bower's underlying message that our problems emanate from the "lack of investment in new plant and technology". A far more fundamental problem concerns investment in our biggest and most important asset, our people.

I visit hundreds of factories, and speak to thousands of manufacturing people in Britain every year. In most cases the message is very depressing: strong pound, weak pound, interest rates, new technology — all the excuses are wheeled out, and the list goes on and on. Very few will admit that their problems stem from lack of education and understanding.

Installing new technology is merely superficial change; changing the way in which we think and work requires fundamental

change. If we are to compete with the rest of the world, we must start with basic education in the latest manufacturing philosophy rather than the latest advances in manufacturing techniques.

Only then will we be in a position to use the new technology we so eagerly want to invest in to a competitive advantage.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID SHOBROOK, Chairman,  
David Baker (Europe) Limited,  
Lincoln House,  
184-186 Queens Road,  
Buckhurst Hill, Essex,  
February 7.

From Mr R. J. Taylor  
Sir, To disagree with generalisations in Mr Tom Bower's "Britain's lost (my italics) battle" articles may be unfashionable, or

unprintable. However, as managing director of a small, British, high-technology fibreoptics company growing at over 40 per cent per annum, investing heavily and consistently in research and development and exporting approximately 85 per cent of its output, I invite Mr Bower to come and examine a more positive approach to industrial management than he has yet reported. The problems he publicises may be epidemic, but they are not endemic.

Yours faithfully,  
SPUD TAYLOR  
(Managing Director),  
York Ventures & Special Optical Products Ltd.,  
School Lane,  
Chandlers Ford,  
Hampshire.

From Mr John R. Cusins  
Sir, Tom Bower's article of February 5 is most unfair to John Procter, managing director of G Plan. During my 26 years as a furniture retailer I have watched the demand for home furnishing suffer wild swings as interest rates rise and fall and British manufacturers opt for survival by limiting their production and exposure.

G Plan is a case in point: market leaders for some three decades, they were once brought to the edge of extinction by these swings in demand. John Procter's achievement has been to assure the survival and future prosperity of his company, and for this he should be congratulated.

Is it not more important to resist imports by developing a strong home manufacturing base than to risk all by chasing the elusive goal of exports?

Yours sincerely,  
JOHN R. CUSSINS,  
4 Spaniards Close, NW11,  
February 7.

From Mr Peter Werth  
Sir, My company stopped importing knitwear ten years ago to concentrate on the UK market and to support the UK knitting industry, but the struggle to get samples out (the prototypes from which all future business is taken) is still unbelievably difficult.

My experience has been that unless factory management is confronted with machine fodder — e.g. classic garments in large quantities and minimum plain colour options — the shutter of negativity comes down. Smaller orders have been dumped in favour of the multiples, who have now moved abroad for cheap merchandise.

There are, in my experience, still some factories which are excited to work on innovations, and there is still a market if you go hunting for it. But the "poor me" malaise seems to be endemic to British industry.

Yours faithfully,  
PETER WERTH  
(Joint Managing Director),  
Springgreen Ltd.,  
10 Waltham Park Way,  
Billet Road, E17,  
February 7.

From the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Department of Trade and Science  
Sir, Dr J. Stephen Clark (February 8) asks me to "monitor carefully the emigration of scientists and engineers" from Britain. He will be interested to hear about the latest *Universities Statistical Record* data for the intakes and outflows of university academic staff for 1988, just published.

With regard to the alleged "brain drain", these data show that 160 non-clinical university staff went abroad in that year, while 244 came into the British system from abroad: a net inflow of 84. This conforms to the pattern of earlier years, for which the *USR* shows a net inflow of academic staff into British universities in every year of the last nine years save two. These figures show a net intake of 13 staff at the professional level.

Dr Clark describes my letter of last July to the Chairman of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals as a "challenge" to prove that the "brain drain" actually exists. In fact, I merely drew the attention of the CVCP to the *USR* data, asking them to review the position and report back if they believe that their own employment data, for some reason, more accurately reflect the true position.

Yours faithfully,  
ROBERT JACKSON,  
Department of Education and Science,  
Elizabeth House,  
York Road, SE1.

From Mr Allan Levy, QC  
Sir, Mr Justice Brooke was not dealing for the first time with the meaning of the words "capable of being born alive" in the Infant Life (Preservation) Act 1929 (report, February 6, "Damages claim dismissed in historic abortion ruling").

In the case of the Oxford students (C. v. S.) in 1987, which was widely reported, the Court of Appeal dealt with the words. Yours faithfully,  
ALLAN LEVY,  
1 Temple Gardens, Temple, ECA,  
February 6.

From Mr Myles Glover  
Sir, It is boloney to suggest, as today's press reports on the latest rail fare increases imply British Rail do, that there is any equivalence in position between commuters and off-peak travellers.

The off-peak traveller earns a discount for travelling when demand for seats is low. The commuter earns a discount for pre-payment, which in the case of annual season tickets holders is very substantial indeed. When borrowing costs are so heavy, it must be abundantly right to reward passengers lending money to British Rail more substantially than those enjoying the luxury of travel in comfortably empty trains.

Yours faithfully,  
MYLES GLOVER,  
Buckhall Farm, Bull Lane,  
Bethersden, nr Ashford, Kent,  
February 5.

Letters to the Editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — (01)782 5046.

### Deluge of paper in Parliament

From Mr Teddy Taylor, MP for Southend East (Conservative)

Sir, I am glad that your paper reported so fully the very telling points made by Lord Rippon (Parliament, February 2) about the volume of legislation coming before Parliament, amounting to about 3,000 pages per annum.

Even more frightening was the information supplied by the minister of state for foreign affairs the other day in response to an enquiry about the volume of legislative proposals emerging from Brussels. The minister told us that over the past 12 months, 765 documents, proposals and consultative papers were issued by the Commission which amounted in total to 10,000 pages.

Sadly our Parliament has little effective control of this mass of legislation emerging from Brussels, and since the passing of the Single Act much of it is applied to the UK by majority vote.

I hope that Lord Rippon can exert his worthy campaign to the EC. Yours sincerely,  
TEDDY TAYLOR,  
House of Commons,  
February 5.

### Women at the top

From Lady Turner

Sir, I read with interest Anthea Gerrie's article (January 24) on the scarcity of women at the top, and wonder whether, at least as far as the law is considered, the explanation may simply be one of numbers.

When I read law at Cambridge, between 1960 and 1963, I was one of the only three women in the university to be doing so. There were two in the year preceding mine, and two the year after. When I was called to the Bar in 1964 there were fewer than 120 women barristers in England and Wales.

When I married the following year and decided it was not possible to combine such a career with looking after a young family without somebody, possibly everybody, suffering, I left the Bar. That was my personal and unregretted decision, but it was by no means unique.

Given that this is the generation which should now be at or near the top of the profession; given that there were so few of us in the first place; given the inevitable fall-out for whatever reason; and given, last but not least, that success at the Bar depends largely on merit, it is scarcely surprising that there are now so few women at the top. Let alone in senior judicial appointments. There must be very few qualified to be there.

This of course will change, and rightly. Many more women have been and are entering the legal professions; but, whatever the pattern of their working lives, it takes time to get to the top.

Yours faithfully,  
DEBORAH TURNER,  
Orchard House,  
Maidford,  
Towcester,  
Northamptonshire.

### The Satanic Verses

From Mr John Lyttle

Sir, Mr Herb Greer (February 9) says the families of British hostages are wrong to assert that *The Satanic Verses* caused "serious damage to community relations in Britain and deaths around the world". He then proceeds to lecture the families about groveling.

But they did not say what Mr Greer attributes to them. They said "reaction to the publication of the book" had already caused the damage to which they referred. Yours truly,

JOHN LYTLE  
(The Archbishop of Canterbury's Secretary for Public Affairs),  
Lambeth Palace, SE1,  
February 9.

### Moles and spurge

From Mrs K. L. Regan

Sir, I once had some moles, too (letters, January 25, February 3). I planted the cater spurge and in 15 years I have never had another molehill; so, to be on the safe side, I shall continue to grow it.

On the same principle, I also like to grow leopardsbane in my garden. You never know. Yours faithfully,  
K. L. REGAN,  
16 Shelford Park Avenue,  
Great Shelford,  
Cambridge.

### Cheek to cheek

From Mr John Skinner

Sir, Dr O'Brien's advice to the nation's menfolk (January 29), enabling them to halve their shaving time by using two razors simultaneously, seems not merely foolhardy in putting their chins at risk; it would appear also to threaten their very souls.

Unlike the fairer sex, who may linger in the mirror at will, a man's single excuse is the act of shaving. It is clearly therapeutic to look oneself in the eye — indeed the ancients believed their mirror-image was, literally, their soul.

That this meaningful exercise should be truncated to a mere 1.75 minutes per day, giving us barely any time to reflect upon our human condition, must be resisted by us all. Yours respectfully,  
JOHN SKINNER,  
Cottelbrook House,  
Charlton,  
Wantage, Oxfordshire.





## THE ARTS

## A lesson and a warning

TELEVISION  
Sheridan Morley

Anyone holding a watching-and-waiting brief over Hong Kong in the 1990s may have been more than a little alarmed by last night's instalment of *The Midas Touch*. Anthony Sampson's scholarly BBC 2 anatomy of money and power. Drawing on some rare and remarkable archive footage, he focused on Shanghai at the end of the 1940s. A city of rampant corruption, almost a parody of the whole capitalist system, was suddenly faced with the puritanical invasion of a very different group of non-profit-seeking Chinese who had plans for something other than yet another expansion of the Stock Exchange.

Sampson's central thesis was the contrast between the Chinese abroad, hugely effective in all forms of commercial enterprise, and the Chinese at home apparently incapable of any such thing. But it was the interview with David Middelitch, late of the Jardines Trading Company, which must have struck a certain chill for Hong Kong viewers.

Recalling the days of his first arrival in Shanghai in 1949, when in order to collect the petty cash his office would send him round with what he described as "three coolies" in a five-ton truck to pick up 50 million gold yuan, worth pennants, Middelitch drew a riveting picture of capitalism in chaos and had the grace not to point to any moral lessons for the decade ahead. Nevertheless, they all seemed to be there.

Meanwhile, over on ITV, Tony Knox's *South Bank Show* film about the life and work of Hans Werner Henze was a model of how music documentaries can best be made to link a score of scores to a 60-year biography. Henze began composing at the age of 12 in 1938 and was conscripted as a Hitler Youth five years later. Since that appalling time, his music has been characterized by an immediate awareness of the world around him, so that whether writing operas about Nazi Germany or post-revolutionary Cuba, he seems more than most contemporaries to be tuned in to the headlines of his world.

True, he left his native Germany in 1953 for a more tranquil life in Tuscany, feeling that he was abandoning "the scene of a disaster" for a revolutionary nation with a classical culture, the combination that seems to suit him best.

Determined to follow no fashion, join no school, Henze settled on Ischia for a while with such other cultural exiles as Auden, Ashton and Walton, but it is in Tuscany that he has founded his own music festival and there that he continues to make a life.

By what must have seemed the risky flash device of projecting newscast footage over his impassive face, Knox managed to suggest Henze's restless, radical political awareness and his instant identification with the blacks who burned Washington in the 1960s while also indicating the sheer sensuality of those musical commentaries.

Fifty years after the death of John Buchan, Dudley Fishburn urges a reappraisal of the author and politician

## How green was Greenmantle?

There is a tradition, enviable but slim, of Members of Parliament becoming men of letters: Churchill, Duff Cooper, Harold Nicolson, Roy Jenkins and Michael Foot are its more prominent representatives. For a man of letters to become a Member of Parliament, however, is altogether rarer: Hilaire Belloc and A.P. Herbert come to mind. But only one man this century, John Buchan, has been both a writer of world renown and a serious politician.

Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor General of Canada, Conservative Member of Parliament, creator of Richard Hannay, biographer and scholar, died 50 years ago. The half century, predictably, has not been kind to Buchan. His stories have been out of fashion — as has his romantic political philosophy — for a generation. They are both worth rediscovering.

John Buchan's many novels — the most read of which are *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, *Greenmantle* and *Prester John* — lie along that straight line from Conan Doyle and Conrad to Ian Fleming and John Le Carré. That curious British liking for the world of spies and deception, in which an unapologetic upper-class hero represents the fight for civilization against the forces of darkness and brutality, found its clearest expression in John Buchan.

But whilst we can accept the old Etonian Ian Fleming and the mandarin Smiley, Buchan's heroes jar. They stand for a world we have been taught to despise, when Britain was at its zenith and dominated, as a force for good and progress, a sizeable portion of

the globe. It is an embarrassing thing, that Empire, for it makes us seem so much smaller creatures today, and we strike back at it with angry epithets — elitist, racist, arrogant, impossible.

And yet, and yet. As assuredly as the clergymen of Jane Austen's parsonages or the waiters of Dickens's London tell us the truth about their surroundings, so do Buchan's heroes tell us about Empire, like it or not. First horrible truth: how educated they were! Richard Hannay, a major in a line regiment, speaks Dutch (from the Boer Wars), perfect German (from school), is a mining engineer with a good knowledge of philosophy.

A fiction? Sandy Arbuthnot, a recurring Buchan hero, is drawn from fact: *The Man Who Was Greenmantle* is a recent biography of Aubrey Herbert, old Etonian, scholar, linguist and Albanian adventurer.

The Empire did produce these men, and in no small number. What were their hallmarks? A Buchan hero, like a Kipling one, must be able to "lie along" all humanity. Self-confidence and good education lead not to arrogance and prejudice but to its reverse — acceptance and knowledge of this multitudinous world.

A Buchan hero may melt into the leather of an Edwardian club but days later he has melted into the slums of Glasgow, the Arabian desert, or the enemy lines with far greater relish. And who are Hannay's companions from one adventure to the next? A red-necked Boer, an overweight despicable American and an old Etonian Scot: citizens of the world, not sippers of pink gin.

Here is a passage in which Greenmantle is explaining Muslim fundamentalism with rather more understanding than we can manage 50 years later. "The Arabs came out of the big spaces and they have the desire of them in their bones. They settle down and stagnate, and by and by they degenerate into that appalling subtlety which is their ruling passion gone crooked."

"And then comes a new revelation. They want to live face to face with God. They want to prune life of its foolish fringes. It's the humanity of our part of the human race. It isn't ours, it isn't as good as ours, but it's jolly good all the same. It's an honourable message."

A Buchan figure is romantic not just because he can mix, and wishes to mix, with all humanity from the Souk to the High Veld, but because he knows his place in nature. This should make him a contemporary hero too. He has to be part of the ways of nature, respect its power and realize the infinitesimal part that an individual plays in the scheme of God's world and God's time.

Here is a philosophy as fit for a green as for a Conservative. Buchan, pilloried as an Imperialist snob, reversed the same philosopher as Mahatma Gandhi — that New England man of nature, Henry Thoreau. It is understandable that the introspective Graham Greene should have claimed Buchan as his greatest influence.

This sense of man's place in nature came from Scotland. A son of the Manse, brought up without privilege under the stern precepts



Lord Tweedsmuir (John Buchan) as the Governor General of Canada

of Presbyterianism, in the great outdoor spaces of the lowlands, Buchan was, for 30 years, Scotland's premier man of letters.

He sat as a Scottish Member of Parliament. His British heroes, both fictional and real, were invariably Scots. Whilst at Westminster, Buchan wrote biographies of his Scottish romantic heroes: Montrose and Sir Walter Scott. They are his best work: *Montrose* is an act of homage to Scottish history that ranks with the country's best.

Buchan's conservatism was progressive, liberal and reconciling (again the unlikely experience

of Empire: he had spent some years in South Africa reconciling the British and the Boer). He was a long-standing prop to Ramsay MacDonald, taking the prime minister for walks in St James's Park, reminiscing about Scotland.

But MacDonald was not a Buchan hero. "He loved plain folk, but they must be his own kind of plain folk with his own background."

Buchan's romantic conservatism was made of much bolder stuff. His heroes loved the world and knew the world and relished its diversity. This is a writer whose time has come again.

## Bleak and unsentimental view

THEATRE  
Alasdair CameronJuno and the Paycock  
Royal Lyceum,  
Edinburgh

Anyone visiting Ian Woodbridge's new production of *Juno and the Paycock* at the Lyceum hoping for an evening of cosy Irish sentimentality is in for a shock. Woodbridge treats the play as a bleak tenement tragedy.

Far from creating a vaudevilian double act for the Paycock and Joxer as has become normal, he shows remorselessly the human price which the family of our "lovable drunk", have to pay; and the pain and suffering which underlines Irish politics.

The tone of the production is set by Rachel George's bare grey tenement room adrift in a waste land. When the Boyles hear that a legacy is due and the promise of affluence briefly visits the house, a floral print sofa appears, as uneasy and out of place as the family's own finery.



"Captain" Jack Boyle (Derek Lord) and Juno Boyle (Eileen Nicholas)

Of course, at the end of the play the colourful furniture is repossessed. The empty, shabby set makes the unremitting catalogue of tragedies which the Boyles must suffer seem real rather than melodramatic.

The production, however, is not without its lighter moments. In Act II the soirée at the Boyles', in celebration of their new wealth, dominated by the splendid

Frankie Cosgrave as Maisie Madigan, is a delight. Then the warmth of this scene is memorably chilled by Ida Schuster as Mrs Tancred, keeping her threnody for her dead son.

The acting throughout is strong, even where the characterization seems at first rather monotonous. A case in point is Derek Lord as "Captain" Jack Boyle: his later vicious outbursts of physical violence are all the more powerful.

Eileen Nicholas, as Juno, is excellent. With a lean and hungry look she is far removed from the warm Irish earth-mother.

But when her son, Johnny (in a harrowing performance by Kenneth Glennan), is taken off to be shot, her agonized whispering of the rosary in the empty flat and her final collapse into the arms of her daughter, Mary (a powerful performance by Kara Kelly), is unbearable.

Her husband and Joxer, played with a ferretish relish by Denis Quilligan, make their last entrance so drunk they have to crawl. And at this point only the harshest religious bigot would doubt that Juno is right to leave this man to rot and to help bring up her grandchild with the inestimable advantage of two mothers.

While the production may miss some of the richness of the language and some of the accents are variable, it is heartening to see the Lyceum, after a very hit-and-miss season, give *Juno and the Paycock*, as Joxer would say, a darlin' production.

## Short, sweet, subtle

CONCERT  
Noël GoodwinBerlin Oboe Quartet  
Purcell Room

Colin Matthews was so taken with the Berlin Oboe Quartet's performance of his first work for them a year ago that he offered to write them another and was eagerly accepted. Its premiere on Friday night, in the Park Lane Group's fruitful concert series, was another success for a quartet who are Berlin by association rather than origin, since two are English and a third Australian. But all met while studying and performing there with the Berlin Philharmonic.

Matthews's Second Oboe Quartet, concentrated into less than 10 minutes, is notable for the harmonic and rhythmic resonance of its string writing as a context for Nigel Shore's oboe to establish a distinctive musical personality in *concertante* subtlety. There is plenty for the ear to savour in the

music's short journey through fluently diverse variations of which the end of one is overlapped by the start of the next.

As with the Oboe Quartet by Roger Steptoe, also commissioned for these players and first performed last year in Berlin, it is music that calls for imagination as well as expertise. Steptoe's two-movement work makes much of individual contrasts of character and timbre among the players, but after the attractively rhapsodic and ballabile first movement, the second yielded less in the way of purposeful direction.

These works were matched to classic points of reference in this repertoire by Mozart and Britten. The former's Oboe Quartet (K370) was given with elegance of line and agility of figuration, and Britten's amazingly inventive student work, the *Phantasia Quartet*, Op.2, brought florid lyricism and scrupulous judgement of weight and balance in its performance. A cheeky arrangement of familiar Villa-Lobos by the oboist made diverting listening to end with.

## Misguided traveller

RECITAL  
Stephen PettittGerhard Oppitz  
Wigmore Hall

Broadly, Brahms's piano music can be played effectively in one of two ways. Either you give it with a sense of real effort, with fulsome tone and a wilful momentum, or you relax into it, allowing it to unfold or, sometimes, to dazzle almost by itself.

Gerhard Oppitz, who has just made his debut recording for Deutsche Grammophon, prefers the latter way, at least when the going is at least as tough as, in this, the second recital of a series of four which he is devoting to the entire solo piano works of Brahms, he enveloped us with some sweetly ripe sounds, never hurrying pieces like the sombre "Ballade in D minor", Op.10 No.1, or its mellow counterbalance, Op.10 No.4 in B major.

In those works, and in the stormier (and slightly clumsily pedalled) second and lightly flighted third Ballades of the same set, that approach worked well. But the listener does need to feel some sense of impetus, however intimate the approach, in longer structures. By the time the "Variations on an original Theme", Op.21 No.1, had finished one felt that Oppitz was becoming enmeshed in the enormity of his project.

Its companion piece, the equally rarely heard "Variations on a Hungarian song", Op.21 No.2, demanded something quite different, a rustic simplicity and lightness of both spirit and sound even at the music's louder, more dramatic moments. Here, though, it began to be evident that Oppitz's technique — or perhaps simply his ability to hold the piece as an entirety in his memory — was being overstretched. That view was confirmed in the Schumann Variations, Op.9, and by his reading of the Piano Sonata No.1 in C, Op.11, whose Lisztian excesses got the better of him.

## Routes and roots of an author

Michel Tremblay,  
Canadian playwright  
and novelist, who is  
in London as his  
latest play opens,  
talks to Harry Eyres

Tremblay: "The only excuse for writing a play is formal innovation"

Michel Tremblay has no truck with the notion — a disgraceful prejudice, of course — that Canada is a boring place. Not his part of Canada, anyway. "Montreal has the same sort of buzz and energy that New York has, on a smaller scale. And there is a terrific amount of culture going on — more new plays were put on in Montreal than in Paris last year."

The reference to Paris is telling. Until the late 1960s, according to this 47-year-old francophone playwright and novelist, the five million French-speaking Québécois looked to Paris as the source of all art. "Everything changed in 1968. Up to that point culture was in the hands of a privileged elite, who had been to expensive schools and universities. They did not believe in a native French Canadian culture. Then suddenly a new group of writers emerged, many of them from the working class like myself, and the old elite just dried up."

Tremblay was born in a poor part of Montreal, the son of a skilled pressman in a printing works. He won a scholarship at 13 to one of Quebec's best schools, but after a few months decided to leave. "I saw that if I stayed on at that school and then went to university, I would have to reject my roots, my background — to forget where I came from. After that I became a sort of auto-didact. I chose my culture, a culture that corresponded to my needs. I wanted to write, but I was quite sure I wouldn't succeed."

Tremblay followed his father and became a linotypist. In 1964 he won a prize for a television

play. "I had a very difficult time for a while, not being accepted by the cultured class and being rejected by my peers." In 1968 Tremblay scored his first big success with *Les Belles Soeurs*, a rowdy comedy about two working-class sisters-in-law. Its most striking innovation was the use of the Québécois slang known as *joual*, a kind of argot which includes English words. He had found his constituency, and it had found a spokesman.

Twenty years on, *The Real World*, which the Soho Poly Theatre performs this week, finds Tremblay in a more questioning, self-doubting mood. The play explores the role of the artist, the relationship between art and life, through the character of Claude, a young would-be writer who has not written a play about his family. Both his real family and the dramatized family are on stage throughout, and a dramatic dialogue of considerable subtlety develops between the two. We are at liberty to think both that Claude's play reveals the uncomfortable truth behind the family's bland facade (the travelling salesman father is a womanizer and has tried to abuse his daughter), and that his play is a piece of immature, exaggerated self-conceit. The effect is somewhat like *Death of a Salesman* rewritten by Alan Ayckbourn.

"My plays tend to have complex structures. The only excuse for writing a play at the end of the 20th century is formal innovation. Everything has already been said by the ancient Greeks." Since 1977 Tremblay has pursued parallel careers as playwright and novelist. The novel *Making Room* was written over the same period as *The Real World*, but is stylistically very different. Where the play is concentrated and uses heightened language, the novel, in the slice-of-life tradition, is looser and more easy-going. It concerns a love affair between a 39-year-old teacher, Jean-Marc, and a 24-year-old actor, Mathieu. Both have been involved in the promiscuous gay world of Montreal bars and parks, a world over which, one might imagine, the threat of Aids hangs grimly. In fact it does not figure largely in the novel. "When I wrote the book, Aids was not such a devastating phenomenon. I would not write in exactly the same way now. But I do think there is a place for a literature about gay people which is not about everyone dying of Aids. The most important theme in the book is the possibility of two men bringing up a child."

With this simply written, but highly topical and touching tale, Tremblay looks set to reach a wider readership. The voice of the doubly-colonized Québécois is forcing itself on our attention at last.

© The Real World, by Michel Tremblay, opens on Wednesday at the Soho Poly Theatre, Riding House St, London W1.



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## MONDAY PAGE

£5,000 awaits the winner of our environment award, now in its second year. Michael McCarthy explains its aims, and the rules

# What can ordinary people do?

The £5,000 award for environmental achievement by ordinary people which *The Times* and BBC Radio 4's *PM* with such success is launched again today, into a world where its subject seems even more important than it did 12 months ago.

The award was intended to foster popular concern for the environment, as opposed to concern from pressure groups or politicians, in the belief that this was the ultimate key to protecting our fragile earth, visibly more battered as each year goes by with its polluted rivers, burning forests, vanishing species and atmosphere overladen by industrial gases. Ordinary people's feelings, we said, are the beginnings of the political will to defend it.

Within six months the growing groundswell of public concern for the environment, which the 1989 *Times/PM* Environment Award registered loud and clear, had pushed the UK Green Party to a 15 per cent share of the vote in the

European elections, and finally established environmental concern right at the top of the political agenda.

It was not only in politics that the power of the concerned individual to help the environment was demonstrated last year. The rise of the green consumer showed that in their buying choices shoppers could exercise enormous influence on the policies of large companies.

There has been marketing hype associated with green consumerism, but it remains true that firms respond to consumer pressure far more quickly than to anything else: aerosols containing chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), the chemicals which damage the protective layer of ozone around the earth, for example, have been largely phased out in the United Kingdom not because of any government regulation, but because ordinary people did not want to buy them.

It is in a reinforced belief in its aim, then, that the 1990 *Times/PM* Environment Award is launched today, for an

individual, group or community which has made the most significant or praiseworthy contribution to improving its environment, or the environment in general, in the past year.

We were amazed in 1989 by just how much people are doing, and if there was any unhappy aspect to the award it was that so many superb entries out of the 351 from all over Britain that went forward for judging did not make the shortlist, although there was universal agreement that Roger Brunt, the coal miner who planted a defiant wildflower meadow in an area of intensive farming, was a worthy winner. Below we show what the award has meant to him.

This year once again we have in mind firstly practical, physical schemes. These



could be for safeguarding or restoring threatened or damaged countryside, woods, meadows, watercourses, even mountains; for the preservation of the habitats of wild creatures or for helping individual species; for the reduction of pollution; for managing or recycling waste; or for the saving of energy.

We will happily consider educational initiatives: last year's runner-up was a remarkable school, the Coombes County Infants School in Arborfield, Berkshire, and its headmistress, Susan Humphries. We will also consider campaigns, although we would expect to see their impact in a definable area.

We invite written nominations of not more than 250 words, typewritten if possible, to be sent to *The Times/PM*

Environment Award, PO Box 486, 1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN, to arrive by last post on Friday March 9, 1990. We strongly suggest you post as early as possible: a large number of entries were disqualified last year by late arrival.

Photographs, which we stress are non-essential, will help, and a daytime telephone number for the people nominated is essential.

The judges, initially, will be two of Britain's most distinguished environmentalists, Sir Crispin Tickell, currently British Ambassador to the United Nations and a key adviser to Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and David Astor, chairman of one of Britain's most influential environmental pressure groups, the Council for the Protection of Rural England; together with two representatives each from *The Times* and *PM*, they will select a shortlist of five entries.

The five shortlisted projects will be featured in the newspaper and on the radio programme in the week of April 2

to 6. Readers and listeners will be the final judges, choosing the winner from the shortlist. The winning project will be announced live on *PM* on Monday evening, April 23, and will feature in *The Times* the following day.

The award will be presented at a ceremony in the BBC council chamber on Wednesday May 9, by one of the world's most celebrated conservationists, Dr Richard Leakey, who is leading the Kenyan Wildlife Service in the fight against ivory poachers for the survival of the African elephant.

Entries are restricted to projects or schemes within the United Kingdom which must have been active during 1989. Professionals are not barred, but the judges will expect to see work and initiative which extends well beyond a regular job.

The four runners-up will each receive prizes of £250; the winner will receive a prize of £5,000, to be spent on the furthering of the winning project, in consultation with the organizers.

You can't put a value on some things, but perhaps the value of the £5,000 *Times/PM* Environment Award can be gauged by asking a simple question: how much is a heron?

Not the stone variety that sits with the fishing gnomes and the plaster caryatids in the garden centre forecourt waiting to be whisked away in the car boot. How much is a real heron, the shy, nervously gawky fisherbird that Dylan Thomas compared to a druid priest? If you wanted one of those around, adding its air of mystery and its wildness - what would it cost you?

Roger Brunt, the Nottinghamshire coal-miner whose conservation area, created from a rubbish dump and paid for by overtime at the coal face, won the award in 1989, can tell you precisely. A heron will cost you a pond - and that's not a misprint.

Take a football pitch-sized conservation area - a traditional English wildflower meadow, surrounded by broadleaved trees, created in the middle of a barren expanse of intensive farming - add a pond, and bingo, a heron follows. When Brunt created the pond out of his £5,000 prize on two-and-a-half acres behind his house at Walsby near Newark, one dropped in looking for lunch.

The heron, which looks like becoming a regular visitor, is not the only new winged addition to the former ash-covered, used-car-strewn, rubbish-spattered tip. There are flocks of songbirds, finches especially, attracted by the new crops of seeds and swarms of insects, and "a glut" of yellowhammers - the streaked, bright yellow buntings that sit on fence posts on summer evenings calling "a little bit of bread-and-no-cheese".

There is a sparrowhawk that dashes in, after the songbirds, and dashes out again. There is a tawny owl that roosts in the nesting box atop a tall pole that Brunt erected in the hope of attracting kestrels.

And there is a family of partridges, a pair which successfully raised their chicks right in the middle of the meadow of fescue and cocksfoot and cowslips that Brunt planted among the pest-



Birds of a feather: Roger Brunt has witnessed a surge of wildlife at the pond he created near his Nottinghamshire home with some of the money he won with last year's award

icided, herbicided, superfertilized barley plains which the map tells you are part of Sherwood Forest.

It has been a rich year in more ways than one for Brunt and his wife Barbara, since readers of *The Times* and listeners to *PM* voted their conservation area the most worthy out of more than 350 entries from all over Britain. Hundreds of people have visited them. More than a thousand have written, sending congratulations, best wishes, wildflowers. The Brunts, deeply grateful, replied to as many as they could.

Even more satisfying, a neighbouring farmer whose spraying activities had presented a serious threat - Brunt once chased him

The winner of last year's award used the money to put a wildfowl pond in the conservation area he had created from a rubbish dump. He found the rewards came flocking in

away in his underpants, feeling the situation was far too urgent for trousers - has visited, become a convert, and now cuts the meadow grass and takes it away (if it remained, the soil would be too rich for wildflowers to flourish). In a modest local way the Brunts have become celebrities, written up, photographed, broadcast, televised. When *The Times* and the *PM* programme visited them recently they were receiving

a gift of trees from Nottinghamshire County Council, and all that was most vital in north Nottinghamshire media circles - the *Newark Advertiser*, the *Mansfield and North Nottinghamshire Chronicle and Advertiser*, the *Retford Times* - was on hand to record Councillor Keith Williams (Lab), chairman of the County Council's environment committee, make a speech and help plant a silver birch. Not that it makes any difference

to Brunt. The 43-year-old miner has continued working six nights a week at the coal face in Bevercotes pit, and spending the greater part of his daylight hours improving even further what is now proclaimed, on a large sign donated by British Coal, as the Berry Carr Conservation Area.

"I'm only a working man with limited resources, but winning the award meant I secured its future," he says. The £5,000 has enabled

him to give it permanence and protection. Most of the money has gone on nearly 500 metres of very solid split-post wooden fencing to surround the area and keep out straying cattle that might make a sudden morning snack of the wildflowers. There are proper wooden gates now, one bearing his award plaque, and wooden seats for elderly visitors.

But the award money has not only bought the fencing, which was a necessity; it has bought a luxury, the wildfowl pond. It is his pride and joy. It cost him £1,200, much of it spent on the heavy butyl liner that provides a watertight bottom over the sandy soil. It sits in a corner of the meadow, 60ft long, 50ft wide and 4ft deep.

its edges planted with marsh marigolds, purple loosestrife, meadowsweet and bullrushes, home already to life: the carp and bream with which he stocked it. And the pond itself has brought him unexpected extras. If you invest in nature, you get paid interest. "We've got swallows in the barn, and as soon as we filled the pond they started swooping down and taking the flies. They must have gone miles for water before. It was beautiful."

Not only swallows. The county council's assistant ecologist, Lisa Kerslake, on hand for the tree presentation, detected for *The Times* things in the pond no human hand had introduced. "Ah," she said, fishing out a small plant. "Starwort. That's come in of its own accord. And so has that." She pointed to a water spider skating across the surface. "And so has this." She held up a water snail.

"Much more will come," she said. "If I had a net I could probably find an awful lot of insect life there already. Dragonflies will just fly in and lay their eggs. So will smaller things like stoneflies and caddis flies. Crawling things like shrimps will get carried in on birds' feet, and he might get other fish like that, sticklebacks especially." And wildfowl? "Yes, mallard will come. They will drop in when they fly over and see it."

Brunt's pond illustrates precisely what the £5,000 *Times/PM* Environment Award is intended for, and what it will buy you. It won't buy you eternal happiness or even much of a new car, but for those who appreciate these things, it will buy you swooping swallows. It will buy you the sudden, mysterious appearance of starwort, and dragonflies floating over water. It will buy you wild duck dropping out of the evening sky.

It will even buy you a heron. "I thought at first it was a big chicken, flapping about, because it had its head tucked in," Brunt says. "Then I realized. It was a wonderful surprise."

● Roger Brunt can be heard talking about his conservation area to Valerie Singleton on BBC Radio Four's *PM* programme today from 5pm.

## Dedicated to the one I love

Should the modern lover consider a return to the letter?

On Wednesday many pages of newsprint will be scanned, hearts beating a little quicker as hands become a lot blacker. For it is the day when Peter sends his love to Jane and the Mucho Macho Munchkin Wunchkin gives lots of huggy-wuggy kissy-wissies to his Flopsy Wopsy Bunnikins Wunnikins.

But perhaps also on Wednesday many will mourn the death of love letters and shudder at their substitutes: uninspired newspaper messages, mass-produced cards and graffitied names sprayed on bus shelters and bridges.

The desperate need to prove that somebody, or preferably everybody, loves you begins in the classroom. Valentine cards are paraded aggressively and the competition drives unsuccessful teenagers into hysteria and worried mothers into newsgasts on duplicitous errands.

But as surely as children become adults, so mere cards become insufficient testament to your attractiveness. Your name must be printed in bold in the paper, mentioned on



the radio, and written in letters 20ft-high in the sky. Personalized gifts and gestures are, it seems, the ultimate way to demonstrate that your love is stronger, longer and softer than all the competitive brands. A collection of words written in ordinary handwriting on a piece of ordinary paper looks, well, ordinary.

Yet nothing has recorded the great love affairs of history half so well as love letters. Had Henry VIII sent Anne Boleyn the 16th-century equivalent of a revolving, illumina-

ted plastic rose which played "Greensleeves", we would have no idea of the "great agony" and doubt which plagued the king. Had Bonaparte not written to Josephine we would not know that the emperor daily "cursed the pride and ambition which forces him to remain separate from the moving spirit of his life". Had James I not written to George Villiers and Oscar Wilde to Bosie, we might not have known that gulf-sex homosexual passion was a part of some lives long before the Sixties.

The main reason for the death of the love letter is that methods of communication have changed. The pages and pigeons who ensured an instantaneous wait-and-return mail service are gone. Instead, we whisper sweet nothings through miles of BT cable and on to reels of tape. Why write when you can fax or transmit a message on to a computer screen and reach your beloved much faster?

"The wonderful days of correspondence are more or less over and it is a terrible loss," Malcolm Bradbury be-

wails. "I don't write letters, I telephone. And so does everyone else. And yet the Post Office is making the most enormous profit."

Rarity increases the worth of the love expressed. In these days when red roses and champagne dinners are 10 a penny, love letters are not. Edith Wharton describes the frisson of receiving a love letter. "The first glance to see how many pages there are, the second to see how it ends, the breathless first reading, the slow lingering over each phrase and word."

This is certainly still a reality for people whose primary mode of contact with the one they love is the written word: for the adolescents incarcerated in single-sex boarding schools, for the guests of Her Majesty in UK prisons and her servants posted abroad.

It is unfair to conclude from this that the age of romance is dead. Where today's lover might rely on the expertise of the professional romantic rhyme-maker, historically the better-off have always relied on others: the Earl of Southampton commissioned love sonnets from Shakespeare; spray-painted graffiti is not so different from carved hearts and initials on trees. And are today's public demonstrations so very much more ostentatious than the invasion of Troy or the beheading of John the Baptist? Answers on a postcard please. Or maybe you'd better phone.

Nicola Murphy

**VITAMIN C**  
**POP IN A**  
**PASTILLE**  
CENTURION  
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# YTS to give way to youth training by vouchers

By David Walker, Public Administration Correspondent

The Prime Minister is poised to launch a youth training initiative intended to move skill levels in Britain closer to those in competitor economies such as West Germany and Japan.

The Government's £3 billion training budget will move from paying allowances to trainees, to paying for courses through training credits held by young people.

The Youth Training Scheme would disappear but all young people in employment would be given access to further education and skill training. A new qualification equivalent to the General Certificate of Education A Level features in the scheme.

Mrs Thatcher has told Mr Michael Howard, the new Employment Secretary, to prepare a dramatic training initiative. It will include a state-guaranteed training voucher payable to all school leavers, and an overhaul of the £100 million a year careers advisory service.

Two thirds of the £1 billion annual cost of the Youth Training Scheme is spent on allowances to its 400,000 trainees. In future, this is to be spent on training programmes — via the vouchers — leaving employers to support trainees themselves. Ministers are confident they will not need to legislate to make a day-release scheme mandatory.

The Training and Enterprise Councils established by Mr Norman Fowler, former Employment Secretary, will be retained with more central co-ordination.

Professor Brian Griffiths, head of the Number 10 policy unit, has urged Mrs Thatcher

to act quickly on the basis of unprecedented agreement between employers and trade unions on the principle of a training credit scheme.

A seminar held on February 2 and attended by leading industrialists and educators as well as ministers from Employment, Treasury, Education and Science and other departments, heard that the Trades Union Congress's recent programme, *Skills 2000*, accepts training vouchers in principle — though the unions prefer to call them training credits.

Conservative strategists are worried that the Labour Party's programme for training, promising universal access to skills training and further education, could be a vote winner. The Confederation of British Industry is encouraging employers to pay the wages of young workers on release.

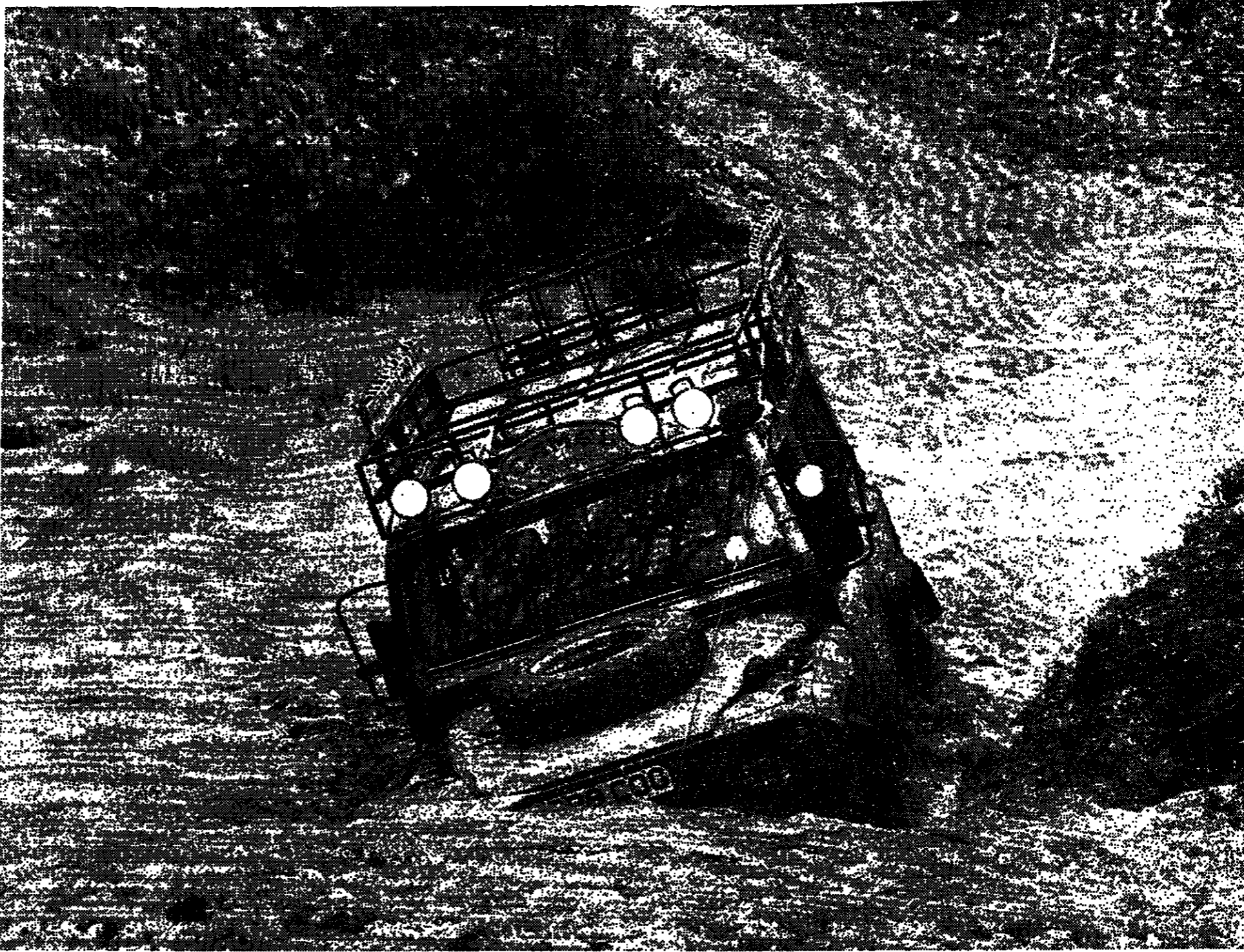
Sir Geoffrey Holland, permanent secretary at the Department of Employment is taking a leading role in internal Whitehall discussions. He started the Youth Training Scheme and is former director of the Manpower Services Commission.

Mrs Thatcher has some anxiety about the "corporate state" aspects of some Employment Department proposals and is resistant to formally involving the trade unions.

However she is enthusiastic for Sir Geoffrey to think about establishing closer links between the TECs, the National Council for Vocational Qualifications and the variety of other bodies concerned with youth training under the leadership of a minister.

# Wrestling with the wilds of deepest Surrey

PETER TREYNOR



Competitors in the Camel Trophy will have to brave the wilds of eastern Siberia but yesterday British, Austrian and Swiss triallists for the motorbike contest wrestled with the toughest terrain that Camberley in Surrey could provide. Vito Algerstein, of Switzerland, plunged through a flooded stream (above) while the Austrian team floated their Land-Rover over a river (left). When the event was held in Brazil last year a British pair won.

## Winds persist as heavy rain brings more floods

Continued from page 1

day for the collapse of a china clay waste tip at Wheel Remfrey, St Dennis, Cornwall, which engulfed a bungalow. Six people, including two aged over 90, had to be evacuated from their homes. Fifty yards of road were blocked to a depth of 10ft by the waste.

A girl, aged 11, who was swept to her death by a freak wave while playing with friends on steps leading from the seafront at Seaburn, near Sunderland, Tyne and Wear, was named yesterday as Julie Cronin, of Fulwell, Sunderland. Three rescuers were unable to hold her against 10ft waves and strong currents. A canoeist in his forties, believed to be from Liverpool, was drowned yesterday in the swollen upper reaches of the Conwy river, near Ybelytlan, a few miles south of Betws-y-Coed, Gwynedd.

In West Sussex, the Lavant, which has not flowed for more than a year due to lack of rain, began flowing again yesterday. The river, which flows into Chichester Harbour, is fed by underground reservoirs deep in the porous chalk Sussex Downs, north of Chichester.

At Muchelney, near Langport, Somerset, where 30 homes are cut off by floods, villagers were ferried to church by boat yesterday.

## Stalin's relatives 'live in luxury Kremlin clinic'

From Mary Dejevsky, Moscow

Relatives of Stalin and Beria are living alongside convicted embezzlers in the luxury of the Kremlin's special clinic, a Soviet newspaper revealed yesterday.

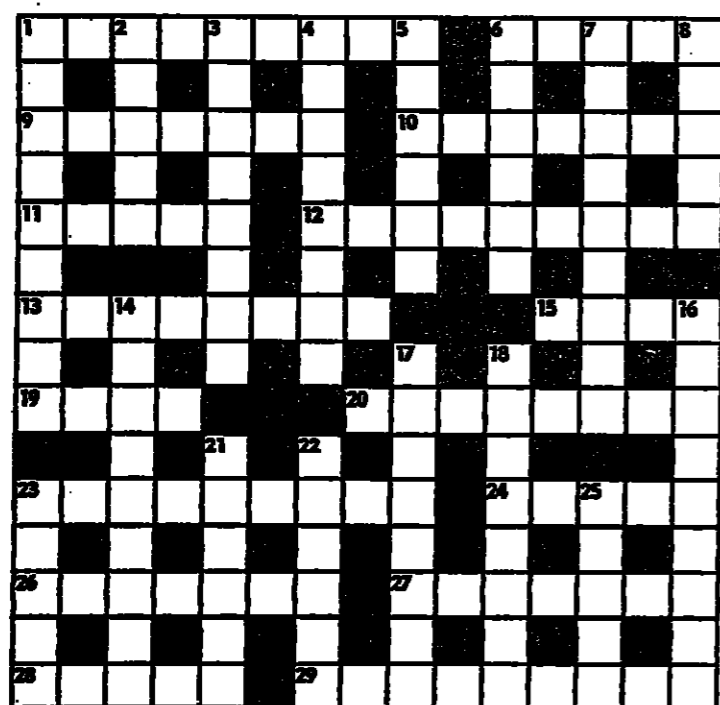
The daily newspaper *Rabochaya Tribuna* said that these special long-term patients were not registered as relatives of the disgraced leaders but as relatives of the corrupt former head of the Moscow Communist Party, Mr Viktor Grishin, and hospital administrators were unaware of their other identity.

Unlike most Soviet hospitals, which are squalid

places lacking many elementary medicines, the Kremlin clinic accommodates its patients in small wards or single rooms, uses advanced western methods of treatment and provides patients with colour televisions and a choice of menu.

Last year it was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Fourth Directorate — the special department responsible for the communist party's top brass, the nomenklatura — to the Council of Ministers, with a view to opening its beds to acute cases from a wider section of the population.

## THE TIMES CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO 18,215



- ACROSS**
- 1 Brief wear best for a baseball player (9)
  - 6 Where one may purchase a theatre seat (5)
  - 9 Student writing a letter about the shower (7)
  - 10 Pronounced a detour absurd (4,3)
  - 11 Bill backed corrupt (23,5)
  - 12 19 and 17 are trifling (9)
  - 13 Sassy lines, not ill-written (8)
  - 15 Support others (4)
  - 19 Mark's sound (4)
  - 20 The returning sailor smuggled gold, he tells us (8)
  - 23 A fellow about the right build for 11 (9)
  - 24 Out first in bamboo boat (5)
  - 26 With many a blemish, a dark make-up is needed (7)
  - 27 There's much disquiet about the doctor being included (7)

- DOWN**
- 2 Sneak beginner into the team (5)
  - 3 The busser will be more confident after rate is settled (9)
  - 4 Adapting to suit in a new job (9)
  - 5 Round some abstract painting (2,3)
  - 8 Little twisters can hold things up (8)
  - 9 Taking steps to make a point in business (8)
  - 10 "Smooth Adonis from his native rock run (Milton) (6)
  - 11 At best, a ticket still must be shown (6)
  - 12 The decoration of senior servicemen in a spot (9)
  - 13 Left a couple of articles for Turner (5)
  - 14 Had more than enough about the pupil's environment, so derided (9)
  - 15 The person giving much trouble to Roundhead counselor (9)
  - 16 The union formed in a grim era (8)
  - 17 Worth a great deal, though over-refined (8)
  - 18 Terriers occupying Venetian official in senile state (6)
  - 19 Strike caused by one member appearing above the law (6)
  - 20 Light shoes should be carried by all cyclists (5)
  - 21 Drink up with little hesitation in this hot republic (5)

The solution of Saturday's Prize Puzzle No 18,214 will appear next Saturday

Concise Crossword, page 18

## WEATHER

Rain or sleet over eastern England and north-east Scotland will soon clear. Everywhere will then have blustery showers, heaviest in the west. The showers will turn to sleet or snow on hills and in the north. It will be windy, with gales in exposed parts of the west and north and the extreme east at first, gradually moderating during the afternoon but persisting in Scotland. Outlook: Unsettled with strong winds.

### ABROAD

City	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Notes
Algeria	17-24	W	100	
Amman	16-21	W	100	
Algiers	16-21	W	100	
Amman	16-21	W	100	
Amman	16-21	W	100	
Amman	16-21	W	100	
Amman	16-21	W	100	
Amman	16-21	W	100	
Amman	16-21	W	100	
Amman	16-21	W	100	

### AROUND BRITAIN

City	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Notes
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	
London	10-15	W	100	

## WORD-WATCHING

A daily safari through the language jungle. Which of the possible definitions is correct?

By Philip Howard

- MUNDIC**  
a. An Albanian official  
b. A tree pyrite  
c. A Dabhi wallah  
d. A feast after Ramadan  
e. A ham sandwich  
f. Sign for glottal stop
- OPODELOD**  
a. A medicinal plaster  
b. A vet  
c. The dandelion  
d. A constable  
e. A stranger  
f. Assault and battery

Answers on page 18

## AA ROADWATCH

For the latest AA traffic and roadworks information, 24 hours a day, dial 0836 401 followed by the appropriate code.

London & SE traffic, roadworks  
C. London (within N & S Circs.) 731  
M-ways/roads M4-M11 732  
M-ways/roads M1-Dartford T. 733  
M-ways/roads Dartford T.-M23 734  
M-ways/roads M23-M4 735  
M25 London Orbital only 736

National traffic and roadworks  
National motorways 737  
West Country 738  
Wales 739  
Midlands 740  
East Angles 741  
North-west England 742  
North-east England 743  
Scotland 744  
Northern Ireland 745

AA Roadwatch is charged at 5p for 8 seconds (peak and standard) 5p for 12 seconds (off peak).

### LONDON

Yesterday: Temp: max 6 am to 6 pm, 9C (48F); min 6 pm to 6 am, 3C (37F). Humidity: 6 pm, 91 per cent. Rain: 24hr to 6 pm, 0.16 in. Sun: 24 hr to 6 pm, 0.1 hr. Sea, mean sea level, 6 pm, 976.3 millibars, falling, 1,000 millibars = 29.53 in.

### HIGHEST & LOWEST

Saturday: Highest day temp: Exeter, 14C (57F); lowest day temp: Exeter, 14C (57F); highest night temp: Exeter, 14C (57F); lowest night temp: Exeter, 14C (57F); highest sun time: Exeter, 14C (57F); lowest sun time: Exeter, 14C (57F).

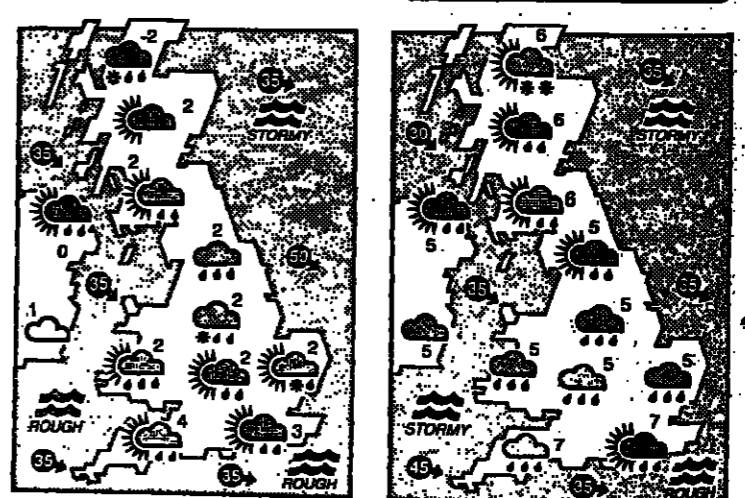
### MANCHESTER

Yesterday: Temp: max 6 am to 6 pm, 7C (45F); min 6 pm to 6 am, 2C (36F). Rain: 24hr to 6 pm, 0.006 in. Sun: 24 hr to 6 pm, nil.

### GLASGOW

Yesterday: Temp: max 6 am to 6 pm, 6C (43F); min 6 pm to 6 am, 1C (34F). Rain: 24hr to 6 pm, 0.346 in. Sun: 24 hr to 6 pm, 0.5 hr.

## AM PM



## LIGHTING-UP TIME

London 5.10 pm to 7.19 am  
Edinburgh 5.10 pm to 7.43 am  
Manchester 5.10 pm to 7.32 am  
Pescadore 5.35 pm to 7.57 am

## YESTERDAY

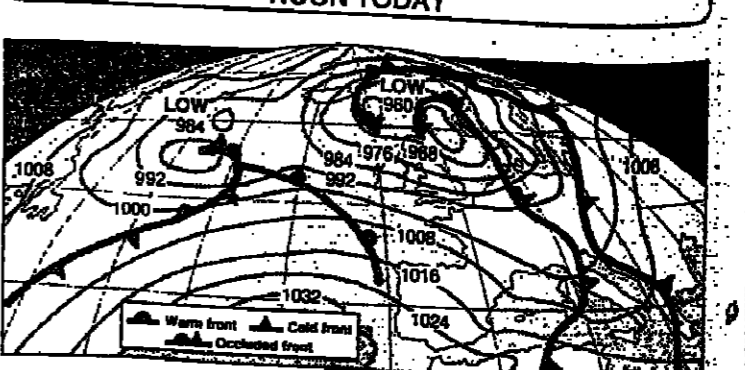
Temperatures at midday yesterday: C, cloud; F, rain, s, sun.

City	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Notes
Belfast	4-10	W	100	
Birmingham	4-11	W	100	
Blackpool	4-10	W	100	
Bristol	7-15	W	100	
Cardiff	7-15	W	100	
Edinburgh	5-11	W	100	
Glasgow	5-11	W	100	

## HIGH TIDES

City	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Notes
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	
London	12.35	W	100	

## NOON TODAY



Information supplied by Met Office

Executive Search  
David Brewster  
CHANGE ON WEST  
THE POLICE  
US dollar  
1989-1990  
W. German mark  
233.33-233.33  
Exchange rates  
88-100  
STOCK MARKET  
FT 100 share  
1850-1850  
FT 100  
1850-1850  
USM (dollar index)  
100-100

Surprise  
jump in  
retail sales

Electricity  
sale details

Record sales  
for Jaguar

Cherry pay cut

Handley buy

TOURIST RATES

Executive Editor  
David Brewerton  
CHANGE ON WEEK

THE POUND

US dollar  
1.6905 (+0.0090)  
W German mark  
2.8333 (-0.0009)  
Exchange index  
89.4 (+0.2)

STOCK MARKET

FT 30 Share  
1830.7 (-35.7)  
FT-SE 100  
2313.6 (-41.5)  
USM (Datastream)  
156.16 (+0.01)

Surprise  
jump in  
retail sales

A surprise rise seen in the annual rate of retail sales growth last month could prompt fresh fears that high interest rates have not dampened consumer spending (Colin Narborough writes).

City forecasters were prepared to accept that the sudden surge in retail sales in December was just a one-off upturn, due to early sales. But a second month of unexpectedly strong sales raises the question whether rates are high enough to restrain consumer spending.

The Confederation of British Industry, in its latest distributive trades survey, says that following better-than-expected trade in December, retailers experienced a pick-up in annual sales growth in January.

Electricity  
sale details

John Wakeham, the Energy Secretary, will today announce key details of the Government's controversial £10 billion electricity privatisation. MPs will be told in a Commons statement of the arrangements for the supply of licences of the 12 area distribution companies and the timetable for their location in November.

Mr Wakeham, who has been under pressure to stick to the March 31 Vesting Day deadline, will also give details of the 10 per cent nuclear levy on electricity sales.

Final terms for the transmission company, National Grid, are also expected to be made public.

Record sales  
for Jaguar

January's sales of Jaguar cars in Japan and the US were a record for the month. US sales were up 2.1 per cent to 1,523 despite difficult conditions, while in Japan, Jaguar's fastest growing export market, sales of its XJ6 saloons and XJ sports cars were up nearly threefold to 166.

Sir John Egan, the chairman, said: "The US sales are particularly gratifying as they were achieved in competitive conditions."

Cherry pay cut

Mr Alan Cherry, the chairman of Countrywide Properties, took an £80,000 cut in pay last year to £209,000. Two unnamed directors were paid £35,000 less, according to the annual report.

The reductions came in a trading period when Countrywide recorded its ninth successive year of record profits. They arose through Countrywide's performance-related incentive scheme.

Tempos, page 22

Handley buy

Handley-Walker Group, the USM management consultancy, will today announce its second acquisition within 10 days. It is buying the Batales management consultancy for £850,000 in shares and cash.

TOURIST RATES

	Bank	Bank
Australia S	2.36	2.37
Australia B	20.78	19.20
Australia F	62.50	62.50
Canada S	2.05	1.98
Canada F	11.25	10.78
France S	7.09	6.80
France F	12.50	12.50
Germany S	2.86	2.77
Germany F	280	280
Hong Kong S	13.85	12.83
Hong Kong F	250	250
Italy S	2.89	2.84
Italy F	11.42	10.78
Netherlands S	3.31	3.13
Netherlands F	261.20	248.50
Portugal S	4.78	4.50
Portugal F	10.50	10.20
Spain S	2.25	2.47
Spain F	1.77	1.85
Switzerland S	2.35	2.47
Switzerland F	1.77	1.85
Turkey S	1.77	1.85
Turkey F	1.77	1.85
USA S	1.77	1.85
USA F	1.77	1.85
Yugoslavia S	1.77	1.85
Yugoslavia F	1.77	1.85

Notes for small denomination bank notes only as supplied by Barclays Bank PLC. Different rates apply to travellers' cheques.  
Retail Prices Index: 118.8 (December)

\*\*\*\*\*

# Swiss set Bond a seven-day debt deadline

By Neil Bennett and David Tweed

A group of Swiss investors has given Mr Alan Bond's private company, Dallhold Investments Pty, one week to find security for a \$43.3 million loan or face the prospect of being wound up.

The company is part of the Dallhold group of businesses through which Mr Bond's family interests are held.

SG Warburg Sotitic, the Geneva-based finance company, is understood to have warned Dallhold that it expects to have the right to wind up the company in one to two weeks.

The assault on Mr Bond's master companies marks an escalation in the financial pressures bearing down on his tottering empire.

Mr Jules Keller, the executive vice-president of Warburg, said his company had been forced to take steps to wind up Dallhold after it had failed to pay a \$1.25 million (£554,000) interest payment due on January 10. Despite extensions of the loan, the money was not paid, leaving Warburg no choice but to ask for repayment of the original loan, he said.

The original \$40.2 million was lent to Dallhold via a private placement in 1986. Meanwhile, Mr Bond's group is heading for a torrid week in the courts as lawyers for various parties prepare fresh applications. American and European investors holding \$660 million of Bond Corp convertible bonds are expected to lead the assault next week and could be followed by international banks owed \$2 billion.

Bond Corporation will today seek to join an appeal by its brewing subsidiary, Bond Brewing, against the refusal of the Victoria Supreme Court to remove receivers appointed on December 29, after an application by National Australia Bank on behalf of a banking syndicate which has an \$880 million exposure.

In Perth, the Western Australian Supreme Court will rule this week on an application by American creditors to overturn an injunction granted last month to the Bond group. The injunction prevents the creditors - holders of \$510 million of Bond Brewing debentures - and the trustee for the issue, the US Trust Company of New York, from petitioning to wind up the company.

The threatened collapse of Mr Alan Bond's corporate empire looks set to trigger a worldwide scramble among its many bankers to recover debts of \$5 billion.

Senior bankers waited anxiously over the weekend for news of Bond Brewing's last attempts to avoid receivership. So far, they have refused to reveal their true exposure to Bond Corporation and its associates, using the pretext of customer confidentiality.

Privately, most play down the importance of the debts and claim they are well secured.

Three of Britain's largest banks, Standard Chartered, Midland and Lloyds, are expected to make large provisions against their lending to the Bond empire in their forthcoming 1989 figures.

Standard Chartered has had a long association with Mr Bond, who once held a 14.9 per cent stake in the bank. At their peak, the bank's loans are thought to have reached £300 million.

Since then these have been reduced to an estimated £100 million.

Midland is thought to have outstanding loans of \$200 million with Bond, but is believed to have improved its security.

While provisions against these debts will deepen losses forecast by the City to more than £500 million, Midland's management is thought to be relaxed about recovering a large part of them. Lloyds involvement is said to be limited to £60 million.

# £20m rush for Regalian

JULIAN HERBERT



Sharing: David Goldstone at Regalian's Crown Lodge development, Chelsea at the weekend

# Flat buyers snap up 50-50 deal

By Our City Staff

Regalian Properties, the residential and commercial developer which last Thursday put its 600 unsold flats up for sale in a 50-50 shared ownership scheme, has sold £20 million worth of the properties in just three days.

Mr David Goldstone, Regalian chairman and architect of the scheme, said 88 flats had been sold by 4pm yesterday. "The response has been way beyond our expectations, and indeed our hopes," he said.

Regalian has sent out more than 3,000 brochures after being inundated with inquiries. Mr Goldstone said between 600 and 700 people had visited properties this weekend alone.

Under the scheme, a buyer of one of Regalian's unsold flats - scattered throughout London Docklands, Chelsea, Battersea, Victoria, Westminster, Clapham and the City and worth £180 million at full market price - will pay only half the full price now, but will retain an option to buy the other half within five years.

Mr Goldstone said most inquiries had been for flats with half-price values ranging from £75,000 to £175,000. The shared-ownership scheme, which follows a similar scheme by Fairclough Homes, an Amec subsidiary, to sell its Docklands flats, has the full backing of four building societies and two foreign banks which will provide mortgages for the purchasers.

Rosehaugh, the property developer, will this week announce such a scheme for 327 of its unsold flats. Buyers will have the chance to sell their half-shares back to Rosehaugh at any time in the first three years. Rosehaugh will also pay legal and valuation costs, and the first year's service charge and ground rent.

# Rosehaugh rejects offer from partner

By John Bell, City Editor

The Rosehaugh property group, which last week revealed a £125 million deep-discount rights issue, has rejected an offer to buy its share in the joint venture company Rosehaugh Stanhope at market value.

The offer, from Rosehaugh's partner Stanhope, was supported by an agreement to finance the deal by two leading merchant banks, according to property sources.

Mr Geoffrey Bradman, Rosehaugh's chairman, has indicated that no further collaborations are planned with Stanhope. Stanhope is thought to have offered earlier to purchase the prize asset of the joint venture, the Broadgate complex at London's Liverpool Street station.

It is understood that no further negotiations are taking place over the sale of either Broadgate or Rosehaugh's stake. Mr Bradman strongly denies that his complex group is suffering cash flow strain.

But the news that the rights issue was not to be underwritten was badly received in the City. There is widespread uncertainty about whether it will be well supported by institutional investors.

# Shadow over HK offshoot

From Lulu Yu, Hong Kong

BCIL, as with other Bond Corp subsidiaries, may well run out this time, even as Mr Bond continues his court battle to keep Bond Brewing Holdings afloat.

Like Bond Brewing, BCIL is one of the Bond empire's main sources of cash. Both are vital to the parent company.

The severance of Bond Corp's Australian brewing interests could have serious implications for BCIL, ranging from a speedy liquidation of remaining assets to a compulsory sale of the company.

BCIL is 66 per cent owned by Bond Corp and was listed in Hong Kong in 1987 as Mr Bond's springboard into China. It has substantial interests in a Chinese telephone company, a brewery in China, and an option to develop land outside Rome. It also owns 3.7 per cent of another Bond Corp subsidiary, Bell Resources.

The Bond group's strongest connection with Hong Kong is with the colony's biggest bank, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, one of Bond's major creditors. More than half of BCIL's shares are thought to be pledged to the bank.

Some analysts put the bank's exposure to Bond worldwide as high as \$5 billion (£2.2 billion), but believe it is well secured.

Earlier, a BCIL director, Mr Peter Lucas, told Hong Kong shareholders that it was in "very good condition".

# US brewery remains

From James Bone, New York

Bond Corp's Heileman Brewing Company of Wisconsin, its last holding in the United States, was not included in the receivership order.

The brewery is highly leveraged, with about \$850 million in debt, including \$200 million of junk bonds.

Despite an operating profit, the company makes a loss after interest payments.

Analysts consider the company unattractive.

It is a distant fifth in the US market and has been losing market share. It accounts for about 8 per cent of beer sales, down from its peak of 11 per cent.

Heileman said last week that it was offering for sale its breweries in Frankenuith, Michigan, and St Paul, Minnesota, and some brands they produce, to enable it to concentrate on major brands.

Bond used to own the San Moritz hotel in Manhattan, but sold it late last year to FAI Insurance, which had lent money for the initial purchase.

# Mason and CoxMoore links

By Matthew Bond

Ten days ago Pressac, the electrical component group, bought PJ Mason for £6 million. Documents filed at Companies House reveal strong links between PJ Mason and CoxMoore, the knitwear concern behind the collapse of Mr Norman Fetterman's Oakwood Group.

Shareholders in Pressac, due to approve the Mason deal at an extraordinary meeting on Friday, have yet to be informed of the links.

When the acquisition was announced Pressac did not mention the identity of the vendors of PJ Mason, a maker of components for neon light tubes. Inquiries by The Times, however, revealed that the company was a wholly owned subsidiary of Scientific Investment Corporation.

A further search revealed that two of Scientific Investment's directors were Mr Michael Renton and Mr Kailash Kanubhai Dal. A third, Mr Martin Green, resigned in January last year.

All three men were directors of the publicly quoted CoxMoore, when it merged with Oakwood in July 1988. It looked the perfect deal.

CoxMoore had transformed the losses of Harold Ingram, the shell company it reversed into. After £900,000 in losses, Warburg Securities, its broker, was forecasting profits of £2.3 million for 1988 and £4 million for 1989. Warburg Securities is broker to Pressac.

In August 1989 Oakwood issued a profit warning. In November it revealed a £5.5 million interim loss, all apparently attributable to CoxMoore. In December the receiver was called in.

Mr Geoff White, chief executive of Pressac, is quite happy with his purchase and is aware of the controversy that has recently surrounded CoxMoore. "We have done our due diligence in Mason and we're satisfied we're buying a sound business."

He takes particular comfort that the executive managers of Mason are staying with the company. Details, page 25

# City group aims to meet Mandela and the ANC

# Fund managers take SA temperature

By Colin Campbell

The first party of London and Continental fund managers to test the South African investment waters in the wake of Mr Nelson Mandela's release and President de Klerk's apartheid reforms leaves for Johannesburg this week. The group includes Mr Robert Guy, director of NM Rothschild & Sons, Mr Keith Bryant, of GT Management, Mr O Burt, senior vice president of Union Bank of Switzerland, and various London analysts and brokers who form part of an overseas contingent attending the annual Frankel, Kruger, Vindermere investment conference in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Mr Geoff Rothschild of Frankel, Kruger, the Johannesburg broker, says 80 overseas visitors are expected from London, New York, Italy, Germany and Switzerland and that they and local investment managers will meet Mr Barend du Plessis, SA Minister of Finance, Dr Chris Stals, Governor of the SA Reserve Bank, and Mr "Pik" Botha, SA Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The fund managers' findings will be influential in deciding whether fresh investment should be made in South Africa at a time when social and political reforms are under way and in the wake of the release of Mr Mandela. In view of the significance of yesterday's developments, and the role in shaping South Africa's economic future which the African National Congress will play,

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Typical APR (For 13.4%)

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TEMPUS

# Hair shirt is Mr Cherry's reward

Alan Cherry and the board of Countrywide Properties have taken hefty salary cuts — after the company's ninth successive year of record profits.

Most of chairman Cherry's shareholders would be inclined to the view that last year's performance merited a decent rise. Despite the near collapse of demand for new houses in the over-mortgaged South-east of England, Countrywide managed to increase profits from £19.2 million to £20.3 million.

Countrywide was unable to escape entirely the dire shrinkage in the housing market. Trading profit from residential development fell from £21 million to £13.8 million. But Mr Cherry, who learned the lessons of the mid-1970s housing bubble well, has carefully structured Countrywide to withstand such shocks.

The shortfall on housing was more than made up by a sharp increase in commercial property profits, which soared from £2.4 million to £11 million at the pre-interest level.

Countrywide's hair shirt approach to its directors' income might well serve as a model for many companies that have been generous to a fault in the past couple of years, awarding their boards handsome salary increases despite static, or falling, profits.

The cuts at Countrywide arise from a performance-related element in directors' remuneration. Although profits were a record, they not surprisingly did not match targets set before the worst of the housing slump set in.

Nevertheless, the group is currently in excellent shape, as its share price performance indicates. Since the results in early January, Countrywide shares have risen 8 per cent to 227p while the rest of the sector has fallen by up to 30

per cent. The message is clear. Housebuilders are suffering, and profits, which were sharply down last year, will be no easier to make in 1990.

Yet Countrywide-watchers expect no more than a 10 per cent downturn this year to about £18 million. Commercial property should hold its own, and residential profits look set to fall by a mere £2 million thanks to defensive strategies already in place. Dividends are not threatened. The cover last time was a comforting 9 times.

Some good housekeeping restricted debt to below historic gearing levels and the group shows no sign of the balance sheet stresses so common in the rest of the sector.

In the longer term, Countrywide is one of the thoroughbreds in the sector, and as the housing market recovers over the next year or two, profits, which will also be powered by some high-quality commercial developments, look set for a leap forward into the range of £30 million to £40 million.

The hidden value in the group's balance sheet is currently being highlighted by Kevin Cammack, an analyst at Smith New Court.

He calculates that the 2,800-plot land bank with planning permission is, by itself, worth more than 1.25 times the market value of the group. His calculation excludes entirely the 6,500 plots without current consent.

On a p/e ratio of less than 7, Countrywide shares should provide handsome rewards for patient investors.

**Boustead**  
Boustead sits among the overseas traders, along with other obscure relics of our mercantile past like Antofagasta, African Lakes and Chillingham. But Mr Michael



Alan Cherry: taking a salary cut at Countrywide Properties despite a strategy that kept profits rising in the housing slump

Noakes, chief executive, prefers to think of it as an industrial distribution and manufacturing group.

It is a boring label for a company which, frankly, is never going to be described as glamorous. But in these uncertain times a spread of businesses in niche areas of industry and proven management skill, has its attractions.

Boustead's past, at least, is glamorous. It was founded by the second white man on Singapore after Raffles.

This Singaporean link is behind much of its decline during the last decade before the arrival of Mr Noakes, a one-time BTR troubleshooter, in mid-1987.

It was run from Singapore by an earlier management which apparently cared little for the City, a feeling recip-

rocated when it slid into loss and dropped the dividend.

Mr Noakes's biggest corporate move has been the acquisition of Camotech, maker of aircraft seats. He has kept a raft of Singaporean interests through 63 per cent-owned Boustead.

He showed his worth last week with the sale of Metal Supplies for £2.9 million, having bought the remaining half of the company just 10 months before for £1.1 million and cleaned out various stocks for cash.

Adding spice to Boustead with almost 28 per cent is Mr Jack Chia, a Singapore-based businessman whose other interests include the Cannon Sports Club in the City. His stake is seen as supportive, and suggestions are he may be prepared to underwrite any

rights issues Boustead needs for acquisitions.

Pre-tax profits for 1989 are unlikely to top £5 million, putting the shares on a multiple of 13, a small premium to the market which anticipates Mr Noakes's success in knocking the company into shape.

This year aircraft seats and trailers will be dull performers, but the Singaporean side could produce some surprises.

The shares, at 63p, are unlikely to see any sudden upsurge, but Mr Chia bought in at 70p. He must have his reasons.

**SA shares**  
South Africa has for long been a risk market. Latest political developments south of the Limpopo may have reduced the risk but have not removed

it. London investors thinking about charging into the South African market should pause for thought — and pick their dealing timetable with care.

SA gold shares have been strong runners since President de Klerk outlined apartheid reforms. The SA gold market is capitalised at \$17 billion (£10 billion). SA gold shares are 20 per cent owned by foreign investors, and it only needs a few more foreign funds to find the South African climate acceptable again and SA golds will take off.

But, as measured by the FT gold index, gold shares have already risen by 124 per cent over a year — and more than 101 per cent since October 17. They require the gold price to challenge \$425 soon if they are seriously to run further.

There are investment hur-

dles to cross in the absence of a decided run in the gold price. The warmer the political climate towards SA the stronger the rand — and the tougher the impact on profitability for mines selling their product in dollars. Meanwhile, De Beers remains very much in international favour.

The ANC's nationalization threat to the banking and mining sectors hardly helps long-term investment decisions. However, if there is any fear of this threat becoming a reality stand by to search out high dividend payers. Under threat, dividend washing is a fast way of getting money out.

All SA companies will be caught up by economic aspirations born out of greater political freedoms, but with mining inflation at an annual 15 per cent and wage pressure building up, the profits and dividend outlook is hardly rosy.

Smart investment money should, however, find a reasonable home in the SA market among the better class of industrial — Barlow Rand and Anglo American are obvious choices. Also likely to be favoured are London companies operating around SA — such as Lonrho.

SA associates and subsidiaries of British companies with a construction and trading flavour are worth remembering if the SA economy picks up. Hanson has an Ever Ready battery business in SA, Unilever, ICI, Shell and BP trade there, and Davy Corporation has a continuing commitment to large infrastructure projects.

Meanwhile, until there is a \$10 jump in the London gold price to set all SA shares alight, trade the SA market on opportunities — and as with the Limpopo, watch out for crocodiles and avoid the tears.

Edited by John Bell

## Query over who foots bill after oil spillage

From James Bone  
New York

Soon after the 811ft *American Trader* tore a hole in its fully laden tank, spilling heavy Alaskan crude oil owned by BP America off the southern Californian coast last Wednesday, the Coast Guard announced that BP had assumed full responsibility.

But as clean-up workers battle to contain the 319,000 gallon spill, it is emerging that the cost of the clean-up will probably be met not by BP but by a Norwegian insurance co-operative of which the shipping company is a member.

"In the long run, it usually comes out that the shipping company will pay," said Miss Amy Stoll, editor of *Oil Spill Intelligence Report*, in Arlington, Massachusetts.

The *American Trader* was chartered by BP from the New York-based American Trading and Transportation Co.

BP says that American Trading is responsible. "The position under the law is the vessel owner has the responsibility," said Mr John Morgan, senior vice-president for crude trading at BP America.

Mr John Nolan, American Trading's manager for insurance, agreed, but left open the possibility — without attributing any fault to BP — that the shipping company might seek some contribution from the British oil concern.

"Up front, we are paying for it with our insurance company," he said.

Mr Nolan said that American Trading was insured in Norway with Assuranceforeningen Gard.

He said that an estimate of \$500 million of coverage was "on the high side", but that he was hopeful that the cost of the clean-up would be "well underneath the insurance that we have".

GILT-EDGED

## Why monetary easing could hit the long end

A part from the continuing risk of disturbances from the unfolding drama in Germany, the chances that the US Federal Reserve will postpone easing policy for a month or two all point to basic rates remaining unchanged for several more months, an earlier reduction in rates cannot be ruled out.

The economy case for lower interest rates would be a further strengthening in the currency, probably after another round of strong export data and an improvement in market expectations of the pace of adjustment in the overseas trade deficit.

Different explanations for lower interest rates imply different yield curve outlooks. A cut in rates after a sharp reduction in inflation expectations might mean even greater yield curve inversion, and exceptional performance at the long end. But a cut in rates to support the economy — or for plainly political reasons — while inflation pressures remained disturbing, would merely hasten the sell-off at the long end likely before the next election.

As long as policy-makers maintain a firm and credible stance, a big sell-off is unlikely. But it is still asking a lot for investors to take below 11 per cent at the long end of the gilt-edged market when returns of 15 per cent are available in the money markets, especially when the Bank says 15 per cent may be available for some time. And if, on the other hand, monetary policy is eased prematurely, long gilts will look as bad as Bunds.

Markets may also not have fully recognized the continuing official emphasis on maintaining a tight fiscal stance to set the conditions for an eventual rebalancing of policy and a reduction in short-term interest rates.

The search for revenue sources before the Budget continues, and a prospective undershoot in this year's PSDR is more than likely to redouble energies in search of faster revenue growth. So it remains likely that next year's Budget surplus target will be held at £10 billion.

While the prospect of a high interest rate regime across Europe, the possibility

and firms in the much larger services sector, where stagnant domestic demand is squeezing margins and leading to widespread labour layoffs. The Bank points out that wage settlements in this sector have not yet responded to demand weakness, and therein lies the real explanation for its caution.

Apart from the eventual emergence of lower wage-led inflation risks, another precondition for an easing in monetary policy is a tight Budget. There is much room for debate over the size of the PSDR this year and next, but it seems likely the outcome for the current year will be as low as £8 billion, against the Chancellor's latest downward target to about £10 billion.

But suggestions that next year's surplus will be eroded completely seem wide of the mark, as many of the one-off contributors to this year's undershoot — the "green dowry", personal pensions and high capital spending — will recur.

The Bank considers that assistance to companies may not be warranted: estimates of stockbuilding in the third quarter may have been overstated and pressure on manufacturers' margins is thought to have increased only modestly.

Thus it is possible that the large financial deficit of the corporate sector may be reduced this year without excessive cuts in capital spending. A more moderate drop in corporate spending, with continuing strong export growth, would limit recession risks.

However, a distinction should be drawn between manufacturing companies

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Malcolm Roberts  
Director  
Salomon Brothers

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Key

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Coloroll homes in on agent

Food of love

Sheehy's group faces a crucial week

# BAT finalizes plans for 'the sale of the century'

From James Bone  
New York

BAT Industries, under takeover threat from Sir James Goldsmith and his Hoylake bid vehicle, is finalizing plans on both sides of the Atlantic for what analysts say will be "the sale of the century."

Under its own de-merger proposals BAT, headed by Mr Patrick Sheehy, plans a London Stock Exchange listing of its Argos stores chain — which could command a market capitalization of about £600 million; a market float for its Appleton/Wiggins Teape paper interests, valued at about £1.5 billion; and the sale of its Saks Fifth Avenue and Marshall Field's department stores in the US.

The Argos and Appleton developments raise no fresh capital for the BAT group and BAT shareholders will receive — at no cost — shares in both.

Argos is due for de-merger in April. UBS Phillips & Drew and Kleinwort Benson, the financial advisers, have been appointed for the Appleton/Wiggins de-merger proposal, and June 1 has been pencilled for the stock market debut.

Appleton/Wiggins is headed by Mr Stephen Walls, formerly managing director of Plessey. BAT shareholders are likely to receive one share in Appleton/Wiggins — a grouping which because of its financial muscle is likely to be classed a constituent of the stock market's FT 100.

There will, however, be massive cash injections into the BAT group from the sale of Saks and Marshall Field's.

Potential bidders for Saks Fifth Avenue and Marshall



At forefront of de-merger from BAT: Stephen Walls, head of Appleton/Wiggins Teape

Field's will this week start to study confidential prospectuses which US analysts say value the two US chains at up to \$1 billion each.

BAT is hoping for bids for both chains of about one times sales. In 1989 the 46 Saks shops had revenue of \$1.3 billion, and the Marshall Field's chain about \$1.1 billion.

The US department store sales may be delayed because of the present turmoil in the US retail sector, analysts say. Both troubled Campeau Corporation's Federated Department Stores and Allied Store

divisions are in Chapter 11 bankruptcy as is LJ Hooker Corporation, which runs the B Altman, Bonwit Teller and Sakowitz chains.

Federated has said it is considering taking its flagship Bloomingdale's chain off the market, apparently because it has been unable to obtain its \$1 billion asking price.

Miss Barbara Wedelstaedt of Duff & Phelps in Chicago said that because so many other chains are on the block, BAT may "have to take a haircut" and let Saks go for as little as \$800 million and Mar-

shall Field's for \$700 million. Among those interested in Saks are General Cinema's Nieman-Marcus Group, a department store chain, and Mr Melvin Jacobs, Saks' chairman, who has said he may lead a leveraged buyout. Mr Joseph Brooks, the chairman of Ann Taylor, is expected to bid in partnership with Merrill Lynch Capital Partners. May Department Stores and Dillard's Department Stores are also possible contenders.

BAT hopes to announce the successful bidder for its US retailing interests in May.

posed financing of Farmers, are matters for concern.

In particular, BAT has cited California's strict debt rules and has suggested the Axa-Midi's proposed debt/equity ratio would significantly exceed the maximum allowed by insurance regulators.

BAT will further argue that the State of California is likely to be disadvantaged through the loss of tax benefits which over the past 10 years have amounted to \$600 million.

Axa-Midi says it is confident of producing convincing arguments that it is a fitting potential owner of Farmers.

BAT has consistently argued that the proposed financing arrangements associated with Hoylake's bid for BAT, and in turn Axa-Midi's pro-

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## Zodiac 'at risk every minute'

By Melinda Wittstock

Zodiac Toys, the loss-making toy shop chain that called in the receiver two weeks ago, has closed eight of its 95 stores after landlords — together owed more than £75,000 in arrears — sent in the bailiffs.

The receiver, Price Waterhouse, said that more Zodiac stores, the vast majority of which are in short-term leasehold properties and in significant arrears, were in immediate danger of closure.

Mr Richard Boys-Stones, a partner in corporate recovery at Price Waterhouse, said: "We're trying to keep the shops open, but Zodiac is at risk every minute."

He said: "The issue is whether we can persuade other landlords to keep the shops open or whether we can find buyers for the business."

Zodiac has already had inquiries from 70 potential buyers of parts of its chain. Mr Boys-Stones said that much of the interest had come from other toy retailers and manufacturers, as well as other retail businesses.

"People seem to be interested in a few stores here and a few stores there," he said.

So far, 20 head office staff have been made redundant, and another 18 are being paid indefinitely by the receiver on the chance that the closed stores may open again. The closed shops are those at Portsmouth, Wrexham, Peterborough, Nottingham, Harlow, Salford, Runcorn and Burton upon Trent.

Mr Boys-Stones said that there was still no progress on assessing the company's total debt, which stood at £13.5 million reported at its January 1990 financial year-end.

It is feared that debts at Zodiac, bought two years ago by Celebrity Holdings in a highly-leveraged deal, could be significantly higher than that.

The total debt and the extent of the company's trading losses will not be known until the end of this month, when Zodiac's directors are due to report to the receiver, said Mr Boys-Stones.

It is still unclear whether the private group's shareholders will get any of their original investment back. Celebrity's acquisition of Zodiac was financed through a combination of overdraft and loan facilities from Barclays Bank, a mezzanine loan from BZW and equity finance from Barclays Development Capital.

## ECONOMIC VIEW

# Paper that should speak volumes about spending

Tomorrow, MPs debate the annual Public Expenditure White Paper. More accurately, a very few MPs with a technical interest in public spending will be joined by one or two with political points to make to yawn away a few hours amid acres of empty benches.

To a man from Mars, this would seem extraordinary. Parliament has some influence over many areas of the nation's life, but the one thing it can actually hope to control is public spending. The origins of the House of Commons lie in this area of controlling how much the sovereign state spends and on what.

Valiant efforts have been made by a handful of enthusiasts to try to improve the scrutiny which Parliament can give to public spending. It was partly at the prompting of the Treasury Select Committee that the Government's timetable was altered to include all the macroeconomic information about public spending in the Chancellor's Autumn Statement, leaving the detail to the January White Paper. The 18 volumes in which this now appears contain a wealth of information which was certainly not there 10 years ago.

Some of this provides bull points for ministers at the despatch box. Spending on roads, for instance, has risen by leaps and bounds in real terms, cost per employee on income tax cases has fallen in real terms, and so on. But, reassuringly, there is also much information which has escaped the censor. Average turn-round time in the Passport Department,

for instance, has risen steadily — though the department did manage to bring it down during the peak period last year. The percentage of benefit expenditure going on administration is rising slightly.

More still needs to be done if the White Paper is to become the comprehensive and easy-to-follow guide to £162 billion of taxpayers' money to which it should aspire. The minimum requirement is that it should show clearly whether spending has been going up or down on any particular programme and why. This surely demands a table for each programme showing spending over the past few years in real terms, with some discussion of the influences on the programme, be they changes in demand or government-determined priority changes.

The other essential is some indication of the quality and quantity of the programmes on which the money is being spent. Progress has been made, but the gap between aspiration and achievement is still variable and for the most part wide. It is not enough to say how many students have enrolled or operations have been performed. One needs to know how unit costs have changed and to have some indication of the quality of the service provided. In many programmes, this is far from straightforward, but in this area the best should not be the enemy of the good. MPs who do their homework will find a mine of politically-interesting material.

## Dress rehearsal for EMU

The process of monetary union seems about to be given a full dress rehearsal in Eastern Europe. GMU has taken over from EMU as the fashionable acronym among central bankers — German monetary union rather than economic and monetary union in Europe.

As a pilot project it breaks every rule. East Germany is, as the Bank of England said in its latest *Quarterly Bulletin*, "a special case" among East European countries because of its relationship with West Germany. Yet the standard view that economic convergence is an essential precondition of monetary union could hardly have been less completely fulfilled in the case of East Germany. Although the East German workforce may be relatively highly-skilled and disciplined by East European standards, the country's capital equipment is outdated and productivity low. While living standards are way below those in the West, competition is likely to force large numbers into unemployment.

GMU is likely to bear out strongly the Delors view that a large expansion of regional aid would be a necessary component of economic and monetary union in Europe. According to an analysis by Gerry Holtham of Shearson Lehman, while the monetary effects of a single currency are much less intimidating than conventionally believed, the fiscal implications are likely to be severe. Much of East Germany's infrastructure of power generation and other basic services needs replacing and the cost of social security is likely to rise sharply as the human costs of restructuring are felt. West Germany may be prepared to bear these costs in respect of its brothers in the East; it is much less likely to be enthusiastic about large subventions to Greece and Portugal.

In the British Government's view, the developments in Eastern Europe bear out the wisdom of Mrs Thatcher's emphasis on caution and the need to see the results of stage 1 of the Delors plan before proceeding to stages 2 and 3. However, if monetary union turns out to be possible between East and West Germany it will be very difficult to argue the time is still unripe for a much looser association — British membership of the exchange rate mechanism — between economies which are considerably more alike than the GDR and the Federal Republic.

Rodney Lord  
Economics Editor

## Key hearing in Farmers fight

By Colin Campbell

Hoylake Investments' vigorous takeover battle for BAT Industries, the British conglomerate, moves to a crucial stage tomorrow as insurance regulatory hearings start in California — the home state of BAT's Farmers insurance group.

Sir James Goldsmith and his Hoylake bid vehicle have lined up Axa-Midi Assurance, France's third largest insurance group, as potential owner of Farmers should Hoylake be successful in its bid for BAT.

The California hearing is the second of nine US state

examinations to determine whether Axa-Midi would be a suitable owner of Farmers. It was scheduled for March 19, but on a successful application by Hoylake and Axa-Midi was brought forward to tomorrow.

Submissions have already been made by both sides in the first of the US examinations — in Illinois — though the Illinois state commissioners have yet to give their ruling.

However, California accounts for 40 per cent of all Farmers' business and as such is seen as the key state in the Axa/Farmers battle. The view of California of-

ficials could be highly influential on other state commissioners.

BAT said it will argue before the California authorities that the Axa-Midi group has only recently been formed and is still undergoing considerable reorganization in France.

Part of BAT's submissions will assert that "Axa-Midi lacks any long-range planning and instead engages in management by opportunity."

BAT has consistently argued that the proposed financing arrangements associated with Hoylake's bid for BAT, and in turn Axa-Midi's pro-

posed financing of Farmers, are matters for concern.

In particular, BAT has cited California's strict debt rules and has suggested the Axa-Midi's proposed debt/equity ratio would significantly exceed the maximum allowed by insurance regulators.

BAT will further argue that the State of California is likely to be disadvantaged through the loss of tax benefits which over the past 10 years have amounted to \$600 million.

Axa-Midi says it is confident of producing convincing arguments that it is a fitting potential owner of Farmers.

## Hong Kong's external trade falls by 3%

Hong Kong (Reuters) — Hong Kong's external trade in December fell 3 per cent by value to HK\$96.95 billion (£7.3 billion) compared to December the previous year.

Domestic exports fell 6 per cent to HK\$19.92 billion, and re-exports rose 5 per cent to HK\$29.59 billion, bringing total exports to HK\$49.50 billion, little changed from December 1988.

External trade for 1989 rose 14 per cent to HK\$1.13 trillion, year on year.

## Lexington seeks quotation

By Our City Staff

Lexington Securities, a property trading and investment company in which the Kuwait Investment Office holds a 35 per cent stake, is considering coming to the Stock Exchange, possibly through a reverse takeover or merger.

Mr James Baker, chief executive, who was first backed by Hambros and Legal & General with seed corn capital in the early 1960s, is holding talks with "certain parties" which could see Lexington becoming more visible to the investing

public. Lexington, which has a portfolio valued at £35 million, made up mainly of properties in London's West End, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, Stevenage, Hertfordshire and Luton, Bedfordshire, was established in 1987 with capital from City institutions.

Mr Baker had tried to find a quoted vehicle through which to go public nine months ago but, he said: "I would not pay £3 for £1 of assets." Lexington's philosophy is to avoid

development projects and concentrate on undervalued assets which can be improved.

Mr Baker said: "I suppose I won initial support from City institutions because they knew of my reputation within the property field."

His experience includes associations with Mr Fred Cleary (who later formed Haslemere Estates) and Mr Ian Hart (a protégé of the late Sir Maxwell Joseph). Lexington made pre-tax profits of £1.24 million in 1988-89.

## Coloroll homes in on agent

Given its present predicament, Coloroll is, methinks, being just a little bit too basty in its attempts to unseat potential predators. Estate agent Peter Eley, aged 32, recently bought 30,000 shares in the unloved home furnishings group at 29p a piece — at a cost of some £8,900 — and has now received a letter from the company, under Section 212 of the Companies Act, asking him if he is stakebuilding. "I'm only a very modest estate agent, my brother and I bought them as a punt, we often spend this sort of sum on shares, but no one has ever accused us of being corporate raiders before," he says from his office in Sidmouth, Devon. And he reveals that he has since bought a further 20,000 Coloroll shares at 22p, bringing his total outlay to £13,400. "I dread to think what they'll do when they find out about those," he muses. Clearly amused by the whole affair, Eley says that he doesn't object to the company's inquiry. "Provided I'm not confused with Ivan Boesky. People here are already starting to call me the Hanson of the West," he says.

## Food of love

As St Valentine's Day approaches, American-born Anglophile Bob Payton, the irrepressible boss of My Kinda Town — best known for its Chicago Pizza Pie Factory — has been drawing some interesting sociological conclu-

## THE TIMES CITY DIARY

### On the Wright lines . . .

Husband and wife teams are common enough, but father and son teams — and both authors — break new ground in the Square Mile. Ian Wright (father) and Andrew Wright (son), both of stockbroker Loring & Crickshank, last week published — coinciding with "the old man's" 62nd birthday — the fourth in their series of gold share books, which examines gold shares and how to "read" them in North America, South Africa

and Australia. They have worked together at L&C for eight years. Andrew, aged 36, reveals — ever since he arrived for just one month — to help Pop draw a few isometric projections of some underground drilling results. He admits: "We do squabble a bit even in the office, because we are very similar, but colleagues know to ignore us because if they interfered the two of us would, of course, stick together and round on them."

sions from his now-traditional February 14, hand-delivered, heart-shaped Pizza business. Already, he has received or-



"Let us not be accused of short-termism — let's back Desert Orchid for next year's National!"

ders for 250 pizzas to be delivered to loved ones on Wednesday, and 247 of those orders came from women. The accompanying messages range from "Eat your heart out" to "Fancy a pizza my heart."

## Dole-ful queue

You just cannot win . . . Norwegians are working harder, spending less and saving more but such virtues may have left a record number of them without jobs, conclude the country's economic experts. For the first time since 1984, Norwegians saved more than they borrowed in 1989. Productivity increased sharply and consumer spending continued to decline. Yet joblessness climbed to a post-war record — 5 per cent — and is expected to continue to rise throughout 1990.

Carol Leonard

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# The CoxMoore connection

Shareholders of Pressac are being asked to approve the purchase of FJ Mason. Matthew Bond looks at its link with a failed company

On the last Friday of this month, shareholders in Pressac, the electronic component group, will meet to approve a rare acquisition made by its board.

Ten days ago, Pressac quietly bought a Kent-based company called FJ Mason for £5.9 million. It operates in a related business to Pressac - making components for neon signs.

Investigations by *The Times* have established a clear link between Mason and CoxMoore, the company that is blamed for Oakwood going into receivership two months ago. According to Pressac, the acquisition is to be financed by £5 million cash, payable on completion, plus a sum not exceeding £930,000, depending on FJ Mason's audited accounts for the year ending this September. The company was advised by Baring Brothers.

Mason is the market leader in the supply of neon sign components in Britain and Australasia. According to Mr Geoff White, Pressac's chief executive: "This acquisition represents the first key devel-

opment in our carefully considered acquisition policy."

The company's statement accompanying the acquisition made no mention of the vendors of FJ Mason, although it refers to its having been established by Mr Mason in 1948.

The circular that was posted to shareholders last week does mention a vendor - Investment Capital Corporation Limited. A search at Companies House confirmed that the Mason family no longer owned the company.

In the notes to the 1988 accounts, note 19 says FJ Mason is a wholly-owned subsidiary of Scientific Investment Corporation.

According to Mr White, ICCL is a subsidiary of Scientific Investment Corporation. A second search revealed the owners of Scientific Investment Corp.

Three of its four directors were Mr Michael Renton, Mr Martin Green and Mr Kailash Kanubhai Dal. Mr Dal, a chartered accountant, was also the company secretary. All four directors of Scientific



Three links in chain: Norman Fetterman, left, the oak leaf corporate logo of Oakwood, above, and Geoff White, the chief executive of Pressac

Investment Corporation list ICCL among their other directorships.

Mr Renton and his family appeared to own 946 of the company's 1,200 shares, with Mr Dal owning four. Mr Green, the company's annual return indicated, resigned in January last year.

A recent announcement in *The Lawyer*, which appeared three days before the Pressac deal was announced, said: "Clifford Chance is advising the liquidators of the Oakwood Group in an action against Michael Paul Renton, Kanubhai Dal, and Martin Green."

"The liquidators - Deloitte Haskin & Sells [sic: DHS is receiver] - claim that the Oakwood Group suffered loss and damage in its acquisition of the issued share capital of

CoxMoore pursuant to a takeover in July, 1988."

A spokesman for Clifford Chance yesterday confirmed that writs had been served on Mr Renton, Mr Dal and Mr Green, alleging that the loss was caused by misrepresentation, negligence, breach of duty and/or breach of warranty.

Oakwood went into receivership two months ago, after its shares had fallen to 14p.

It was the vehicle of Mr Norman Fetterman, the man who turned Barham, the financial services group, around.

Together with Mr Tony Ward, his partner, he turned Barham from a company worth £500,000 in 1983 to one worth £98 million when he sold it four years later.

So, when, in 1988, he and Ward bought into Oakwood,



then an engineering and furniture group, the stock market looked for a repeat of Barham.

It was not to be. Four months after Ward and Fetterman took control, Oakwood merged with CoxMoore, the men's knitwear group.

At the time of the £48 million merger, CoxMoore's chairman was Mr Renton, its finance director was Mr Dal and Mr Green was a director.

The three had become public company directors in 1987 when Harold Ingram, the quoted knitwear group, took over two private companies controlled by Mr Renton and Mr Green.

The turnaround of Harold Ingram was spectacular.

From interim losses of £190,000, the CoxMoore group turned in pre-tax profits

of £900,000 in the only results it posted before being merged with Oakwood.

At the time of the merger, Warburg Securities, CoxMoore's own broker, was forecasting pre-tax profits of £2.3 million, with £4 million pencilled in for 1989.

In November last year, three months after issuing a profits warning, Oakwood reported interim pre-tax losses of £5.49 million - all, apparently attributable to CoxMoore.

Six weeks later, the receiver was called in with Oakwood's debts estimated at £25 million.

SG Warburg had acted for Oakwood in the merger. Warburg Securities is broker to Pressac.

Both Mr Renton and Mr Dal joined the Oakwood board after the merger. Mr Renton - who became a 5 per cent shareholder in the company - was joint chairman and Mr Dal became finance director.

Mr Dal resigned last August and Mr Renton resigned last October.

Mr White remains quite happy with his acquisition and has consulted closely with Baring Brothers and with KPMG Peat Marwick McLintock, his auditor.

"We think we have made a sound acquisition of a sound company that has a sound future."

## Banham urges firms to look at the Gulf region

Mr John Banham, director general of the Confederation of British Industry, is urging British companies to start moving their productions out of the United Kingdom into areas of cheap energy and labour.

In particular they should be looking at the attractions of the Gulf region, where they could also take advantage of free trading conditions, and unrivalled access to the rest of the world.

Mr Banham, who was visiting the United Arab Emirates of Dubai on his way to India, painted a sombre picture of the prospects for manufacturing in Europe. "I will be surprised if it is possible to operate a world class petrochemical complex in northern Europe in the 21st century."

"It will be absolutely essential that people have access to low-cost, reliable, and pollution-free sources of energy, and it is difficult to see where that combination could be met better than here."

But Mr Banham's message is likely to be less well received among the British workers whose jobs would presumably follow any mass export of production.

"It wouldn't be my job to explain it to them, but I would ask them to consider what

would happen to their jobs if their company didn't have access to competitively priced energy in the year 2000."

The Japanese had already exported much of their manufacturing effort, and were concentrating at home on design, marketing, and other aspects of industry, he added. British firms should follow their example.

"The United Kingdom shouldn't be trying to do what can be better done elsewhere."

"Companies in Britain in energy-intensive industries such as steel, chemicals, or plastics could be asking themselves how they would be affected if their competitors were to invest in this area first."

The main thing holding them back at the moment was ignorance of developments in the region.

"The sad fact is that many of the companies who could most profit by investment here have never even thought about this part of the world as a possibility for manufacturing industry."

Trade with the Gulf region is booming - plans for billions of exports went from the United Kingdom to Gulf Cooperation Council countries last year. But investment has so far failed to follow.

### Reporting This Week

## Fourth-quarter profits at BP may top £500m

The sharp increase in oil prices, from \$13.50 a barrel in the fourth quarter of 1988 to more than \$19, will be a big boost for British Petroleum, currently chaired by Sir Peter Walters and where Mr Robert Horton is chairman-designate.

BP will reveal its fourth-quarter figures on Thursday. Barclays de Zoete Wedd, the broker, expects historic-cost net income of £504 million, compared with £272 million, boosted by a stock profit of £150 million, against a loss of £32 million last time.

Profits of about £100 million are also expected from the sale of property in central London. This will give total profits of about £1.86 billion for the year, compared with £1.21 billion.

Margins in the chemicals business have been declining, which will probably lead to a fall in profits.

We recently saw a 48 per cent reduction in US profits. However, with forecasts of the oil price reaching \$28 a barrel by 1995, BP's longer term prospects look good.

### TODAY

Dalgety, the international food group, has initiated a strategic review of its operations since the appointment of Mr Maurice Warren as chief executive.

Last October saw the £87 million sale of Gill & Duffus, the commodities business, which contributed about £16.2 million to operating profits last time, with about half that amount expected this time.

Prudential-Bache has pencilled in pre-tax profits of £56 million for the half-year, compared with £51.7 million.

Interims: Black (Peter) Holdings, Dalgety, Essex Furniture, Howard Holdings, Mid Wynd International Investment Trust, Orchid Technology, Second Alliance Trust, Finales: European Assets Trust NV, Fairway (London), HunterPrint Group, TR Pacific Investment Trust.

### TOMORROW

Reuters Holdings, the international news and financial information group, which is headed by Sir Christopher Hogg and Mr Glen Renfrew, is expected to show strong revenue growth, at about 19 per cent.

Operating margins, which increased from 20.8 to 23 per cent at the half-way stage, are expected to continue rising. UBS-Phillips & Drew is looking for full-year pre-tax profits of £285 million, against £215 million.

Analysts expect Bryant Holdings, the West Midlands housebuilder where English China Clays has a 29.3 per cent stake, to report interim pre-tax profits of £14 million (£51 million) as the slump in the housing market deepens. Interims: Bryant Group, Fleming Overseas Investment Trust, Hunt International Holdings (quarterly). Finales: Egerton Trust, Reuters Holdings.

### WEDNESDAY

There may be a cautious tone to the statement from British Airways when Lord King, the chairman, and Sir Colin Marshall, the chief executive, announce results for the third quarter.

BA gave a warning that rising oil prices would hit fuel costs - fuel is 35 per cent more expensive than a year ago.



Sugar: big profit fall likely

close-down sale of audio equipment and camcorders at low margins, while PCs may have had negative operating margins once all the handling costs have been taken into account.

Some analysts still have doubts as to whether we have seen a turnaround in Amstrad's fortunes. Pre-tax forecasts range from £15 million to £20 million at the interim stage, against £75.2 million last time.

Crest Nicholson, the building and property development group, is expected to perform well compared with the rest of the sector. Final pre-tax profits should rise from £36 million to £38 million, according to the company's broker, Kleinwort Benson.

Market forecasts range from £36 million to £42 million. Interims: Amstrad, GT Venture Investment Co, News International, Photo-Me International. Finales: British Petroleum, Crest Nicholson, Green Property, Independent Newspapers, Norsk Hydro AS, River and Mercantile Trust, Tribune Investment Trust, Trust of Property Shares.

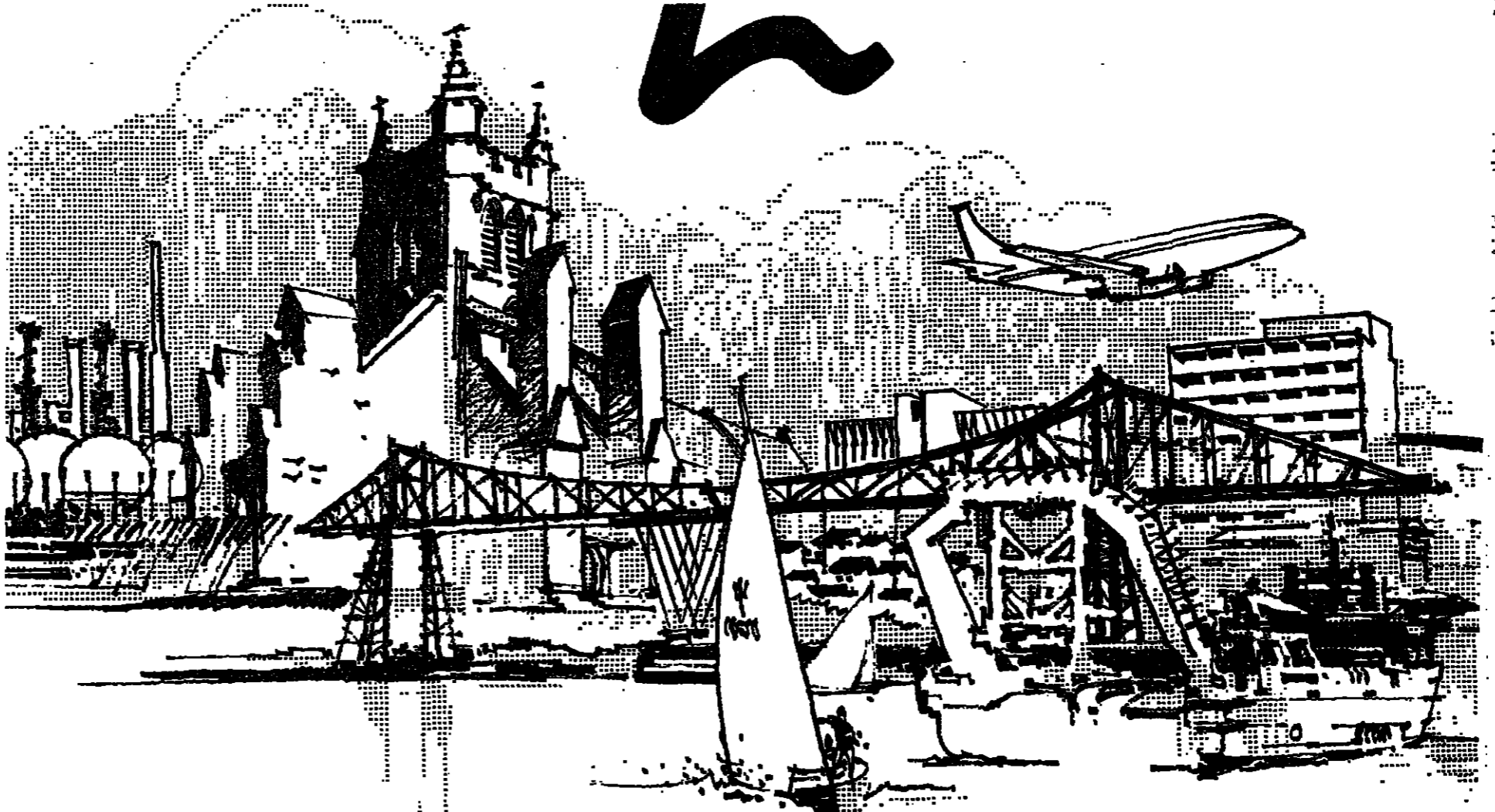
### FRIDAY

Interims: Equity & Law International Funds, Portsmouth and Sunderland Newspapers, Rich Group. Finales: Anglo & Overseas Trust, Dickie (James), F&C Enterprise Trust, Newmarket Venture Capital.

Philip Pangalos

# TEES/SIDE

## THE UK'S BIGGEST NEW URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT



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## TEES/SIDE Initiative Talent Ability

## Portfolio

Prices are Friday's middle prices. Change, dividend, yield and P/E ratios are calculated on middle prices. (ag) denotes Alpha Stocks.

Commodity	Company	Price as of Friday	Change on week	Cons. on parcels	Dist. %
<b>OVERSEAS TRADERS</b>					
17.00s Antelope		690	+16	20.0	3.8
41.70s Brouwer		100	—	11.0	2.0
92.00s Chiriquito		137	—	11.0	2.0
113.00s Florida (Lemon)		217	—	8.5	4.2
182.00s Florida (Lemon)		100	—	11.0	2.0
1.81.00s Loverso (oil)		99	—	21.0	7.8
92.00s Loverso (oil)		70	+37	5.7	7.0
94.00s Loverso (oil)		145	—	11.5	3.0
1.44.00s Stone Sherry		121	—	11.5	3.0
200.00s Tisser Monday		320	-1.0	5.0	4.7
<b>PAPER, PRINT, ADVERTISING</b>					
36.00s Abbot Mould		280	—	8.5	3.2
36.00s Abbot Mould		281	—	8.5	3.2
36.00s Abbot Mould		282	+0.6	8.0	6.0
36.00s Abbot Mould		283	—	8.5	3.2
36.00s Abbot Mould		284	—	16.1	8.1
36.00s Abbot Mould		285	—	11.0	2.0
36.00s Abbot Mould		286	—	7.0	7.2
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120.5m Northampton	20.2			

\* Ex dividend & Ex all b Forecast dividend & Interim payment passed f Price at suspension g Dividend and yield exclude a special payment k Pre-merger figures m Forecast earnings o Ex other r Ex notes s Ex scrip or share split t Tax-free .. No significant data.

## EDUCATION

Edited by David Tytler

# Swapping notes on school reform

Danish schools seem well funded and run. Why then are they adapting some English ideas? David Tytler reports

Money and love alone could solve a country's education problems, there would be none in Denmark. But it seems they are not enough as the Danish government prepares to force reforms on an unwilling teaching profession.

But for Angela Rumbold, Minister of State for Education and Science who has just returned from a four-day visit, the modern, well-equipped and democratic schools of Denmark must have seemed a stark contrast to some of Britain's less-blessed schools.

Rumbold had particularly wanted to see how the Danes ran their much-vaunted pre-school system to see what lessons could be learnt, and perhaps incorporated, into her report on education for the under-fives, due to be published later this year.

On the face of it, the splendid schools for children aged from six months to five years provide everything for which a child or parent could wish. Compulsory education starts for Danes at seven, but most schools have a pre-school class for six-year-olds to ease them into the full-time business of learning.

Sneglehuset — the "snail's

house" kindergarten in Frederiksberg, a well-to-do suburb of Copenhagen — is a group of prefabricated huts with a woodwork shop complete with full sets of tools. There are also small-scale kitchens, gymnasium and activity playground.

A staff of 11 cares for 14 children aged from six months to two years old and 42 children from three to five between 6.30am and 5pm every weekday.

The full fees are about £125 a month but parents are means-tested and many pay much less.

There is certainly no shortage of equipment to entertain the children or to ease the burden of the staff, right down to adjustable table-tops for changing the nappies of the youngest children. The children seemed happy enough, although many were lying on mattresses or sitting in chairs, apparently not doing very much.

In kindergarten, as in other schools in Denmark, the activities are run in discussion with the children.

Rumbold's view of education for the under-fives is rather more rigorous, although she accepts that the very young have to be treated differently from five-year-olds. She says: "It is quite wrong to treat four-year-olds like five-year-olds



A contrast to some British schools: a modern school in Denmark plays host to Angela Rumbold (right) or three-year-olds like four-year-olds. Their rate of development is so different.

Rumbold says that in future pre-school teachers in England and Wales will have to be more aware of the needs of the schools.

"There are increasing numbers of four-year-olds going into some form of education provided either

voluntarily or by the local authority. It is important that they should be led into the start of the national curriculum at five. Many of them are not doing this at the moment.

"Some authorities are doing pre-school well, others not at all, but it is something that should concern us. In all cases, it can be

looked at again to highlight the areas which everybody is going to have to deal with."

The idea of formal training for the very young is alien to the Danes. Reading and writing do not start until the beginning of formal schooling at seven. The Danes

bride at the suggestion that their kindergartens are little more than

an elaborate babysitting system, although that is essential in a country where most women work and there is such a high divorce rate. A similar need will arise in Britain, with a falling population requiring more women to continue in skilled work, not least as teachers.

The traditional view in Denmark is that the social education of children is vital, particularly for younger children who are often deprived of their parents' attention because both are at work. Through play and loving attention, the kindergarten, to a large extent, replaces the family.

Even in the secondary schools, teachers refer to small working groups of children as family groups, the most able helping the least able. The accent is on partial care and partnership throughout the system. Many schools ensure that a class of seven-year-olds coming into the school is given a teacher who will stay with them until they leave at 16 or 17.

But Denmark, as England and Wales have already done, is re-examining its education system under the leadership of the education minister, Bertel Haarder, who seems to have much in common with Kenneth Baker, architect of the reforms to schools in England and Wales. There is talk of quality control and teacher assessment.

The changes may seep down into the kindergartens, some of which are run by the social

services department, others by the education departments in the local municipalities. There is growing pressure from the reformers to start teaching reading and writing at least to five-year-olds.

Dorthe Heurlin, senior English adviser to the Directorate of Upper Secondary Education, says: "We find from time to time that children become impatient if their needs to learn are not taken up. Mine did, and parents become impatient, too."

The traditionalists will not easily concede the argument, believing passionately that children should be allowed their childhood, and claiming that the comparatively late start to formal education is no handicap.

Nils Danielson, headmaster of the 7-17 school for 650 pupils attached to the teacher training college in Copenhagen, says: "We find that nearly all our children can learn to read and write within six months. They are quick learners. They have a motivation that might not have been there when they were younger."

The debate is just beginning in Denmark, with its modern, well-equipped schools fighting falling roles in what the traditionalists see as an assault on all they have held dear. Some of the same questions will have to be faced in Britain. There will need to be more day nurseries, but will they be schools or playgroups? And who is going to pay for them?

## Give PE teachers a sporting chance

The physical education profession is a beleaguered and dwindling part of state school education. Its enthusiastic and committed members are valiantly struggling to cope with the many problems that limit their ability to fulfil their responsibilities to the pupils in their care.

The position of physical education and sport in schools is in sharp contrast to the 1960s, when state school physical education and sport in this country were the envy of the world. The programme was broad and matched the abilities of all the pupils. A wide range of inter-school sport was a regular feature of school life. Team games and individual pursuits were part of the overall curriculum. The profession was proud of its contribution to the life of a school and academic staff felt the benefits of a close personal identity with their pupils through sport and PE.

What has gone wrong? Just as the workman needs tools to do the

job, so does the PE specialist. Regrettably the tools and resources required to maintain the high standards have progressively been denied. The die was cast in 1981 when the then Junior Education Minister, Neil Macfarlane, announced the now-infamous DES Regulation 909.

It reduced the acreage of playing fields per pupil in state schools and triggered off a builders' bonanza. At first, the measure seemed logical. The Government assured education authorities that 50 per cent of all revenue would be reinvested in sport. The assurance was short-lived.

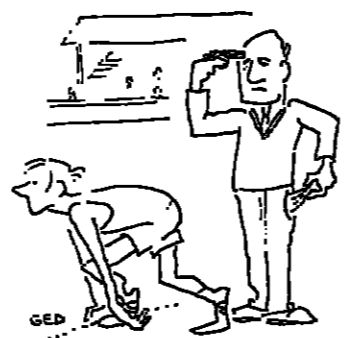
The 50 per cent reinvestment, it was stated, could be used not only to improve school sports facilities, but, at the discretion of the local authority, for any local govern-

ment development, such as housing and roads.

Regulation 909 has benefited few schools and the Central Council for Physical Recreation has identified hundreds that have lost out.

This blow to the fundamental requirements of a PE teacher — facilities and resources — was soon to be matched by a loss of personnel support from fellow teachers.

The industrial dispute in the early-1980s took a toll on the morale of all teachers, from which they have never fully recovered. Why should a teacher give voluntary service in his or her free time, in the evenings and at weekends, when the standing of the profession is deemed by the authorities to be so low by com-



Comparison with other professions? The cheerful outings with school teams, the out-of-school visits to the swimming-pool and the delight and despair of inter-school competition took second place because of financial considerations

and low morale. The PE programme was particularly vulnerable as its horizons had widened with an ever-increasing pupil sporting choice which has proved difficult to sustain.

The result of these two heavy blows is decline, disinterest and discouragement. Team games have been the worst affected. Fewer and fewer inter-school matches take place in rugby and cricket and, to a lesser extent, in football. Fewer pupils express an enthusiasm for sport and PE.

It is against this background that another extraordinary government decision has to be assessed. Under the National Curriculum, PE will be dealt with in the same way as the other nine compulsory subjects.

But how can PE be properly

taught when in the 20,000 primary schools in England and Wales there is only a handful of qualified PE specialists? How can the subject be adequately covered when the Government has cut by more than 20 per cent the number of students training to be PE specialists?

The Government appears willing to accept that the body should be educated as well as the mind — but it is not turning sentiment into fact. A proper evaluation of the state of PE should be undertaken. Measures should be taken to encourage the profession to restore the interest and co-operation of other teachers.

It has been said that the introduction of the teachers' contracts with a compulsory number

of hours to be worked per year could be the kiss of death to out-of-school activity of any kind. This need not be the case if head teachers are allowed to vary the contract to enable a Saturday morning to be worked with time-off during the week.

This kind of flexible approach could benefit not only PE but school music, drama and the whole variety of interests, which inevitably require out-of-school time for practice and rehearsal.

With schools now moving rapidly to a self-governing regime and competition to attract pupils, surely the time is right for the Government to remind school authorities that an effective means of establishing an enviable reputation in the eyes of parents is for a school to achieve high standard results in sport as well as in academic subjects.

Peter Lawson

● The author is general secretary of the Central Council of Physical Recreation.

## EDUCATIONAL

### POSTS



### KRISTIN SCHOOL AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND PRINCIPAL

Kristin School is a co-educational interdenominational independent day school founded in 1973 and situated in park-like surroundings on Auckland's North Shore. The school offers a well balanced educational environment with a strong emphasis on academic achievement. It is the first school in New Zealand to offer the International Baccalaureate.

The school caters for children from kindergarten to Form 7 and has a roll of over 1,000 students, 500 of whom are in the Secondary School.

The Board of Governors is seeking a new principal who should be an inspired all rounder with excellent academic qualifications and a successful background in school management. Of equal importance will be a total commitment to the school's philosophy and the energy and enthusiasm to continue the growth and development of a leading New Zealand educational institution.

The position is becoming available with the planned retirement in 1991 of the current principal, who has served the school since 1978.

Further information, including conditions of employment and method of application, can be obtained from:

The Secretary, Board of Governors  
Kristin School, P.O. Box 87, Albany,  
Auckland, New Zealand  
Fax (64 9) 415 8495  
Tel (64 9) 415 9566

### AIGLON COLLEGE SWITZERLAND

The independent (Oversens HMC) boarding school for 280 boys and girls (11-18) in the Swiss Alps wishes to appoint in September 1990 an

### ASSISTANT TEACHER OF CHEMISTRY AND BIOLOGY

This is a post for a graduate, preferably with at least 2 years experience who is able to teach to A Level. Some experience with outdoor pursuits and a willingness to assist with the School's weekend expedition programme is also sought.

Full involvement in the life of the School, including readiness to contribute as a resident member of staff, is expected. Applicants must be prepared to respond to the challenges of working in an international community in which individual and spiritual values are stressed.

Apply in own hand with CV, two referees and phone numbers (town and referees) to:

The Headmaster, Aiglon College  
1885 Chesler-Villars, Switzerland  
Tel (0041) 25 35 27 21  
Fax (0041) 25 35 26 11

### HARROW SCHOOL APPOINTMENT OF HEAD

The Governors invite applications for the post of Head of Harrow School which becomes vacant in September 1991 on the retirement of Mr Ian Beer.

The Governors will welcome applications from candidates of standing from within or without the school world.

Applications, which should be accompanied by a curriculum vitae and the names of two referees, should be sent no later than March 16th 1990 to the Chairman of the Governors of Harrow School, c/o A J F Stebbings, Clerk to the Governors, 45 Pont Street, London SW1X 0BX.

### King's House School, Richmond, Surrey. (I.A.P.S. Day Preparatory School)

Required for September 1990, qualified and preferably experienced full-time teacher for the 8-12+ area. Qualifications in Mathematics and Games would be preferred but good teachers with other specialities would be considered.

### King's House Junior School, Richmond, Surrey

Required for September 1990 a class teacher for 7-8 year old boys. An ability or interest in Science/Computers would be an advantage.

The school operates its own salary scale.

Please apply with C.V. and names of referees to the Headmaster, King's House School, 68 King's Road, Richmond, Surrey, TW9 6ES.

### St George's Hospital Medical School University of London

### CHAIR OF THE PSYCHIATRY OF MENTAL HANDICAP

Applications are invited for the Established Chair of the Psychiatry of Mental Handicap (Learning Disability) in succession to Professor D J Bicknell. The Chair is tenable in the Division of the Psychiatry of Disability within the Department of Medical Health Sciences at St George's Hospital Medical School.

The School and University wish to encourage innovative research in aspects of disability psychiatry including mental handicap (learning disability) and applications are welcome from academic clinical psychiatrists working in the field. The successful candidate will have an important role in developing undergraduate and postgraduate teaching in the Medical School and the Region, and will be awarded an honorary consultant contract by the Wandsworth Health Authority.

Candidates wishing to discuss the post informally are invited to contact the Dean of the Medical School, Professor William Ascher, (01 672 3122). Applications (13 copies) together with the names of 3 referees to be sent to the Personnel Officer, St George's Hospital Medical School, Grammar Terrace, London SW17 0RE (01 784 2791), from whom further particulars may be obtained. Please quote reference 21/90. Closing date for applications 12 March 1990.

### BRAMCOTE SCHOOL FILEY ROAD, SCARBOROUGH, NORTH YORKSHIRE YO11 2TT

The Governors invite applications from suitably qualified and experienced candidates for the post of

### HEAD

which becomes vacant in September 1990 upon the retirement of the present Headmaster.

Bramcote School is an I.A.P.S. Boarding School for boys aged 8-13.

Applications in writing, with full curriculum vitae and the names, addresses and telephone numbers of three referees to:

The Chairman of Governors, Bramcote School, Filey Road, Scarborough, N. Yorks. YO11 2TT (Closing date for applications: 1st March 1990)

Further details available from the Headmaster's Secretary

### ST. DOMINIC'S SIXTH FORM COLLEGE (R.C. Voluntary Aided)

Mount Park Avenue, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex, HA1 3HN. Tel: 01-422 8084

Applications are invited for September 1990 from well qualified and experienced teachers for main scale appointments in:

COMPUTING SCIENCE  
ECONOMICS/BUSINESS STUDIES  
ENGLISH  
MATHEMATICS  
PHYSICS

Teaching covers the full ability range from Oxtbridge entry 'A' & 'S' level to GCSE and vocational courses. Good graduates completing their PGCE in July, 1990 would be considered for these posts.

The Governors seek to appoint teachers able and willing to contribute to the Christian ethos of the College. All full time teachers share the tutorial and pastoral work.

Application forms from and to be returned to The Principal. Closing date: 27 February 1990

### CATHEDRAL SCHOOL SALISBURY



The Governors of THE CATHEDRAL SCHOOL, an Independent Preparatory School, invite applications for the post of

### HEAD

which becomes vacant in September 1991 on the retirement of Mr Michael Bile after 17 years as Headmaster. Full details and application forms may be obtained from: The Chapter Clerk, No 6 The Close, Salisbury, Wiltshire, SP1 2EP. Closing date for applications: Monday 5th March 1990



### EDINBURGH COLLEGE OF ART HERIOT-WATT UNIVERSITY

### Principal of the College of Art

The Governors of the College invite applications for the post of Principal

He or she will be concerned with leading the College's academic and creative development and with the management of change in the context of the 1990's. Candidates may have an academic background or come from industry, commerce or the professions.

The college, founded in 1908, is an expanding Scottish Central Institution constituting two faculties of Heriot-Watt University. All courses in the Schools of Drawing and Painting, Design and Crafts, Sculpture, Architecture, Landscape, Planning and Housing lead to first and post-graduate degrees. A Fine Art course leads to a degree of the University of Edinburgh.

Those wishing to receive further information about the post or wishing to draw names to the attention of the Appointing Committee are invited to write in confidence to:-

The Secretary and Treasurer,  
EDINBURGH COLLEGE OF ART,  
Lauriston Place, Edinburgh, EH3 (DF)  
Telephone No. 031-229 9311 (ext 271)  
to whom all completed forms should be returned by Monday 26th March, 1990.

### KAMUZU ACADEMY MALAWI

### APPOINTMENT OF HEADMASTER

The Governors seek to appoint a Headmaster to take up duties on 1st September 1990. The Academy, which is fully co-educational, is run on the lines of a traditional public boarding school and was featured in the 1987 BBC film "The Eton of Africa", recently repeated. Candidates must hold a good Honours degree, and have studied Latin for at least two years. The recently retired Headmaster was an overseas member of HMC.

A three year contract is offered in the first instance, renewable by mutual agreement. The remuneration package includes negotiable salary, 25% terminal gratuity in lieu of pension contribution, excellent accommodation, medical insurance, car, educational allowances and flights, etc.

Full details and application form are available from Roy Ashwell, Gabbittas, Truman and Thring Recruitment, Broughton House, 6-8 Sackville Street, London W1X 2BR (Telephone 01-734 0181 or 01-439 2071, Fax 01-437 1764).

GABBITTAS, TRUMAN & THRING

### THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY LECTURESHIP IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Applications are invited for the above established post (tenable from 1 September 1990). The appointee, who will have a strong research record, may offer lectures, seminars and tutorials in American History in any period since 1800 and will be expected to take a full interest in other aspects of the work of the Department. Salary on Grade 4 (£10 458-£15,372 pa).

Further particulars from: Director of Personnel Services, The University, Sheffield S10 2TN. In whose applications, including a full CV and the recommended three referees, two copies of all documents should be sent by 30 March 1990. Please quote Ref MAP 246/A. An Equal Opportunity Employer.

### ALL BOX NUMBER REPLIES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO:

Box No.: .....  
BOX NO. DEPT.,  
P.O. BOX 484,  
VIRGINIA STREET  
WAPPING  
LONDON  
E1 9DD

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No. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 83















